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List of Abbreviations

AASS	<i>Acta Sanctorum</i>
AB	<i>Analecta Bollandiana</i>
ABSA	<i>Annual of the British School at Athens</i>
AHR	<i>American Historical Review</i>
B	<i>Byzantion</i>
BF	<i>Byzantinische Forschungen</i>
BHG	<i>Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca</i>
BMGS	<i>Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies</i>
BNJ	<i>Byzantinisch-neugriechische Jahrbücher</i>
BS	<i>Byzantinoslavica</i>
BZ	<i>Byzantinische Zeitschrift</i>
CFHB	<i>Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae</i>
CSCO	<i>Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium</i>
CSHB	<i>Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae (Bonn)</i>
DHGE	<i>Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastique</i>
DIEE	<i>Δελτίον τῆς ἱστορικῆς καὶ ἐθνολογικῆς ἐταιρείας τῆς Ἑλλάδος</i>
DOP	<i>Dumbarton Oaks Papers</i>
DTC	<i>Dictionnaire de théologie catholique</i>
EEBS	<i>Ἑπετηρὶς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν</i>
EHR	<i>English Historical Review</i>
EO	<i>Échos d'Orient</i>
GRBS	<i>Greek Roman and Byzantine Studies</i>
IRAIK	<i>Izvestija Russkago Arkheologičeskago Instituta v Konstantinopole</i>
JA	<i>Journal Asiatique</i>
JGR	<i>J. & P. Zepos, Jus Graecoromanum</i>
JHS	<i>Journal of Hellenic Studies</i>
JRS	<i>Journal of Roman Studies</i>
JÖB	<i>Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinistik</i>
JÖBG	<i>Jahrbuch der österreichischen byzantinischen Gesellschaft</i>
MGH	<i>Monumenta Germaniae Historica</i>

On handling the menavlion

MICHAEL P. ANASTASIADIS

MPG	J.P. Migne, <i>Patrologia series Graeco-Latina</i>
MPL	J.P. Migné, <i>Patrologia series Latina</i>
OCP	<i>Orientalia Christiana Periodica</i>
PO	<i>Patrologia Orientalis</i>
RE	<i>Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft</i> (Pauly-Wissowa)
REB	<i>Revue des Études Byzantines</i>
REG	<i>Revue des Études Grecques</i>
ROC	<i>Revue de l'Orient Chrétien</i>
VV	<i>Vizantijskij Vremennik</i>
ZDMG	<i>Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft</i>
ZRVI	<i>Zbornik Radova Vizantološkog Instituta</i>

The study of Byzantine military treatises is often fraught with obstacles due to the interpretation of technical terms which have lost their meaning through the passage of time. This paper is concerned with an obscurity called the menavlion (μεναύλιον) and the soldiers who wielded that weapon: the menavlatoi (μεναυλάτοι). The menavlion has been identified as a heavy javelin or spear, a short hunting-spear and, more recently, as a pike comparable to that carried by the heavy foot-soldiers in the Byzantine army.¹

The material for constructing the menavlion is recorded in the anonymous mid-tenth-century *Sylloge Tacticorum*,² and the late-tenth-century *Praecepta Militaria* attributed to the Emperor Nikephoros II.³ These treatises stipulate that only hard species of wood were acceptable and preferably in their natural state — that is, unhewn. The *Praecepta* notes:⁴

Their monavlon is not to be made from hewn wood, but from the saplings of oak- or cornel-trees or from the so-called *atsekidia*.⁵ However, if

1. See respectively, J.F. Haldon, 'Some Aspects of Byzantine Military Technology from the Sixth to the Tenth Century', *BMGS* 1 (1975) 33; H. Mihaescu, 'Pour une nouvelle édition du traité *Praecepta Militaria* du X^e siècle', *RSBS* 2 (1982) 318; and E. McGeer, 'Μεναύλιον — Μεναυλάτοι', *Διπτυχα* 4 (1986-87) 53-7. This study will demonstrate that the interpretation of the first two authors is to be preferred.

2. *Sylloge Tacticorum, quae olim 'inedita Leonis Tactica' dicebatur*, ed. A. Dain (Paris 1938).

3. Nikephoros II, *Praecepta Militaria ex codice Mosquensi*, ed. J.A. Kulakovskij, in: *Zapiski Imperatorskoj Akademii Nauk: Istoriko-filologicheskoe otdelenie*, viii 9 (St Petersburg 1908).

4. *Praecepta* 4.11-14: Τὰ δὲ μόναυλα αὐτῶν μὴ εἶναι ἀπὸ πελεκητῶν ξύλων, ἀλλὰ ἀπὸ νεακίων δρυῶν ἢ κρανίων ἢ τῶν λεγομένων ἀτζηκιδίων. Εἰ δὲ καὶ αὐτοφυῖα ξύλα οὐχ εὐρίσκονται, γενέσθωσαν ἀπὸ πελεκητῶν· πλὴν ἐστῶσαν ἀπὸ ἰσχυρῶν ξύλων καὶ παχέα τοσοῦτον, ὅσον δύνανται χεῖρες κυβερνᾶν.

5. The species of wood called ἀτζηκιδιον is unclear; cf. D. Demetrakos, *Μέγα λεξικὸν τῆς ἑλληνικῆς γλώσσης*, s.v., «ἀτσικνίδα»: a nettle (*urtica dioeca* or *urtica pilulifera*), or a wood-rush (*chondrylla juncea*) which is any plant of the genus *Luzula*; and, Du Cange, *Glossarium ad scriptores mediae et infimae Graecitatis*, s.v., «ἀτζικνίδα»: a nettle. None of these definitions, unfortunately, fits the context of the passage.

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undressed wood cannot be found, make the monavlon from hewn wood but they are still to be of hard wood and as thick as is possible for hands to wield.

The dimensions of the menavlion are attested indirectly in the *Tactica* of Leo VI,⁶ where he records how the Strategos Nikephoros Phokas — the grandfather of the emperor with his namesake — protected the army's encampment with a novel device:⁷

With two symmetrical wooden stakes each of three spans⁸ or a little more in length, he joined them together into a lambda-shaped construction, and likewise with another stake of five or even six spans, he placed this type of menavlon on the joint of the bipod and made a tripod which stood firmly with the legs locked together. On the tip of his menavlon, he affixed a large and stout spear-point to protrude two spans or slightly more from his tripod, as we mentioned, and, thus, with this kind of wooden caltrop, whenever he wished, he gathered it up and, whenever he wished, set it up again.

The *Tactica* of Nikephoros Ouranos,⁹ also, by paraphrasing Leo on this point, mentions the menavlion thus:¹⁰

6. Leo VI, *Tactica*, ed. R. Vári, 2 vols. (Budapest 1917-22).

7. Leo, *Tact.* xi.26: Κανόνια δύο σύμμετρα λαβών ξύλινα ἀνὰ τριῶν που σπιθαμῶν ἢ ὀλίγῳ πλέον λαβδαραίαν συνέμιξεν, ἕτερον δὲ κανόνιον ὁμοίως, ἔχον σπιθαμὰς πέντε ἢ καὶ ἕξ, τάξιν μεναύλου ἐν τῇ συμμίξει τοῦ δισκελίου ἐπιθεὶς τρισκέλιον ἐποίησεν, ἱστάμενον ἰσχυρῶς διὰ τῆς ὕψ' ἀλλήλων τῶν σκελῶν συγκροτήσεως. Περὶ δὲ τὸ ἄκρον τοῦ οἷον μεναύλου ξιφάριον μέγα καὶ ἄδρὸν ἐνέβαλεν προκύπτον τοῦ τρισκελίου, ὡς εἴρηται, σπιθαμὰς δύο ἢ μικρῷ πλέον, καὶ οὕτω τοὺς ξυλίνους ἐκείνους τριβόλους, ὅτε ἐβούλετο, συστέλλων, ὅτε ἐβούλετο, πάλιν συνίστα.

8. Where one span approximates to 23.4 cm. (or 9 in.), one cubit to 46.8 cm. (or 18 in.) and one fathom to 1.87 m. (or 6 ft.): E. Schilbach, *Byzantinische Metrologie* (Munich 1970) 19-22.

9. For a history of this treatise: A. Dain, *La 'Tactique' de Nicéphore Ouranos* (Paris 1937). I have used Vári's recension where he appended some chapters from Ouranos as a footer for a new edition of Leo's *Tactica*, and to supplement this: J.A. de Foucault, 'Douze chapitres inédits de la "Tactique" de Nicéphore Ouranos', *TM* 5 (1973) 281-312.

10. Ouranos, *Tact.* xiv.27 (Vári, 300-1): Κανόνια δύο ξύλινα λαβών, ἔχοντα ἀπὸ τριῶν σπιθαμῶν ἢ ὀλίγῳ πλέον, συνέμιξεν αὐτὰ καὶ ἐποίησε λαβδαραίαν, ἄλλο δὲ πάλιν κανόνιον, ἔχον σπιθαμὰς πέντε ἢ καὶ ἕξ, ὥστερ μεναύλον ἐπέθηκεν εἰς τὴν μῆξιν τῆς λαβδαραίας καὶ ἐποίησε τρισκέλιον καὶ ἑστηκεν ἰσχυρά. Εἰς δὲ τὴν ἄκραν τοῦ μακροτέρου κανονίου, ὅπερ ἦν ὡς μεναύλον, ἐβαλε ξιφάριον μέγα καὶ παχύ, ἐξέχον ἀπὸ τοῦ τρισκελίου σπιθαμὰς δύο ἢ καὶ ὀλίγῳ πλέον.

With two wooden stakes of three spans or slightly more in length, he joined them together and made a lambda-shaped construction and with another stake of five or even six spans, he placed this type of menavlon on the joint of the lambda-shaped construction and made a tripod which stood firm. On the tip of the longer stake — which was like a menavlon — he affixed a large and thick spear-point, which protruded two spans or slightly more from his tripod.

The *Praecepta*, however, observes that the menavlion was to be two or else two-and-a-half spans in length.¹¹ *Prima facie*, there appears to be a discrepancy regarding the length of the menavlion, but the most plausible explanation is that the measurements in the *Praecepta* refer only to the spear-point,¹² which coincides with the length of the spear-point mentioned by Leo and Ouranos, while the length of five or six spans refers to the shaft of the weapon.

The menavlion, therefore, measured something like seven to eight-and-a-half spans in length including the shaft and spear-point.¹³ Such a weapon may be likened to a short spear or javelin and this is precisely how other military treatises characterized the menavlion. Leo, for example, in the Sixth Constitution on cavalry, attests: 'All of them, the cataphract and the non-cataphract cavalry, had either lances, and others those now called menavlon, which the ancients called spears'.¹⁴ The *Excerptum*

11. *Praecepta* 3.14-16: Οἱ δὲ ἑκατὸν ἔχουσιν μοναύλια παχέα, ἔχοντα τὸ μήκος ἀνὰ δύο ἡμισυ σπιθαμὰς ἢ καὶ δύο.

12. See the commentary by Kulakovskij, 30, n.3: 'The definition of the length of the monavla at 2½ *spithamai*, that is, 553.5 millimetres (3.15), clearly relates to the length of the barbed element affixed onto the wooden shaft'. Furthermore, the corresponding passage in the *Tactica* of Ouranos (*Monacensis* 452, fol. 110^v) attests: ἔχοντα τὸ μήκος *** (εἰ)τε καὶ ἀπὸ δύο, τὰ δὲ ξιφάρια αὐτῶν (ἀπὸ δύο) ἡμίσεος σπιθαμῆς, εἴτε καὶ ἀπὸ δύο.

13. Cf. McGeer, 'Μεναύλιον', 54-55, who considers the menavlion to have measured twenty-five to thirty spans by comparison with the pike of the hoplites in the *Praecepta*, but in the next paragraph, while remarking on the length of the spear-point, contradicts himself by stating that the menavlion could have been modelled on the caltrop devices recommended by Leo which had a shaft of about five or six spans.

14. Leo, *Tactica* vi.31: Τοῦτων δὲ πάντων, τῶν τε καταφράκτων καβαλλαρίων καὶ τῶν μὴ καταφράκτων, οἱ μὲν εἶχον κοντάρια, οἱ δὲ τὰ λεγόμενα νῦν μεναύλια, ἅπερ οἱ ἀρχαῖοι λόγῃς ἐκάλουν.

Tacticum avers: 'That the menavlon is a type of javelin'.¹⁵ The menavlon, furthermore, was originally a kind of hunting-spear for the term is a distortion of the Latin word *venabulum*.¹⁶

The *Sylloge* is the first military treatise to mention the menavlatoi as a distinct body of troops and to prescribe their tactics where they appear to have operated as an anti-cataphract cavalry troop type.¹⁷

First of all, position the menavlatoi in the intervals alongside the front ranks: when the enemy approach to within bowshot range, the menavlatoi move through the intervals towards the enemy regiments and deploy from a distance of thirty or forty fathoms, either having their frontage in a straight line or else in a wedge shape as stated in chapter 46. Their task is to stab boldly the horses of the cataphract cavalry with their menavlon.

The other military treatises of the mid- and late-tenth century portray the matter somewhat differently. In the *Praecepta*, the infantry unit is the 'taxiarchy' containing 1,000 men divided into two components: the first group has 700 men comprising 400 hoplites and 300 bowmen, while the second group has 200 javelin-men and slingers, and 100 menavlatoi.¹⁸ The hoplites are armed with a pike measuring thirty (or at least twenty-five) spans in length, a shield with a length of six spans, a sword slung from a baldric, a hatchet or an iron mace, and a sling tucked under the belt.¹⁹ The bowmen have two bows, four bow-strings, two quivers: one containing forty arrows and another with sixty, a

15. *Excerptum Tacticum*, ed. and tr. A. Dain, in: *L'extrait 'Tactique' tiré de Léon VI le Sage* (Paris 1942) 87: "Οτι μέναυλον είδος έστιν άκοντίου.

16. Mihaescu, 318.

17. *Sylloge* xlvii.16: "Ιστανται δέ οί μεναυλάτοι, πρώτα μέν εν τοίς κατά μέτωπον διαλείμμασιν των δέ δή πολεμίωv ώς από τόξου πλησιασάντων βολής, διά των διαλειμμάτων τώνδε χωρούντες πρός των ταγμάτων ώς από όργυίων μάλιστα λ' ή μ' τάττονται, ή έπ' εθέϊας τό μέτωπον έχοντες, ή και έν τριώνω σχήματι, ώς και έν τώ <μς> είρηται κεφαλαίω. Έργον δ' αὐτοίς έστι τό τούς καταφράκτων ίππέων ίππους τοίς μεναύλοις διαπείρειν εύτόλμως.

18. *Praecepta* 3.8-10, 13-15. E. McGeer, 'Infantry versus Cavalry: The Byzantine Response', *REB* 46 (1988) 138.

19. *Praecepta* 1.24-2.6. In the *Sylloge* xxxviii.3,5, the specifications are identical except that the pike-armed infantry, called άσπιδηφόροι, have a pike measuring ten (or at least eight) cubits in length with a spear-point of one-and-a-half spans, and a single-edged sword, called a παραμήριον, measuring four spans excluding the hilt and pommel.

buckler, a sword slung from a baldric, a hatchet and a sling.²⁰ The javelin-men and menavlatoi have slightly smaller shields than those of the hoplites but, otherwise, have the same side-arms as the hoplites except that the javelin-men and menavlatoi substitute a javelin and menavlon respectively for the pike of the hoplite.²¹

The *Praecepta* envisages that there will be 16,000 infantry on campaign but of these only twelve taxiarchies, namely 12,000 infantry, will participate on the actual day of the battle. This yields a theoretical full strength of 1,600 menavlatoi in the army — a sharp increase in the number of menavlatoi when compared to the mere 300 countenanced in the *Sylloge*.

The menavlatoi could fulfil a variety of tactical roles depending on the circumstances. For example, the hoplites and bowmen were deployed to have a depth of seven ranks with the first two and rear two ranks being hoplites and in between were three ranks of bowmen.²² If the enemy possessed cataphract cavalry, the menavlatoi were to stand in front of the first rank of hoplites and, thus, gave the entire formation of hoplites, bowmen and menavlatoi a depth of eight ranks. The *Praecepta* 3.25, reads: Οί δέ μοναυλάτοι στηκέτωσαν έν τώ μέσω τόπω των προμάχων (The monavlatoi have to stand in the middle part of the front ranks), which is meaningless because the words έν τώ μέσω τόπω are so vague that it cannot be discerned precisely where the menavlatoi were deployed. However, the emendation έν τώ μετώπω makes it clear that the menavlatoi were deployed 'in the foremost' of the front ranks. Then the hoplites were to triple their ranks by which manoeuvre one of the rear ranks of hoplites would

20. *Praecepta* 2.8-12. The *Praecepta* mirrors the *Sylloge* in these details except that in the latter the bowmen have a single-edged sword, one quiver with thirty or forty arrows and another quiver with an arrow guide, called a σωληνάριον (xxxviii.10). On the identification of the solenarion as an arrow guide: D. Nishimura, 'Crossbows, Arrow-Guides and the *Solenarion*', *B* 58 (1988) 422-35.

21. *Praecepta* 3.26-7: Πάντας δέ τούς μοναυλάτους και άκοντιστάς έχειν σκουτάρια σεμνότερα των όπλιτών, την δέ έξόπλιν έν' ίσης αὐτοίς.

22. *Praecepta* 2.33-5: Οί δέ όπλίται όφείλουσιν ίστασθαι άμφίστομοι διπλοί και έχειν τό μέτωπον δύο όπλίτας και τό ούραϊον δύο, και μέσον αὐτών ίστασθαι τοξότας ψιλοὺς τρείς, ώς είναι τό βάθος της παρατάξεως άνδρων έπτά.

move through the files and reform behind the front ranks of hoplites.²³ The reason for such a manoeuvre was to counter the impetus of enemy cataphract cavalry by adding more solidity to the taxiarchy by bringing more pikes to bear on the enemy. Thus, the *Praecepta* reads:²⁴

The formation triples its ranks so that with the monavlatoi it becomes four deep. If it happens — God forbid! — that the three ranks of pikes of the hoplites are smashed by the enemy cataphracts, then the stalwart monavlatoi, stand bravely and receive the impetus of the cataphracts and turn them back.

This passage, also, indicates that the menavlatoi stood in the foremost of the front ranks of the hoplites because after tripling — by adding another one rank of hoplites to the front — the taxiarchy has four ranks of heavy foot-soldiers.²⁵

The problem arises of just how did the menavlatoi defeat the enemy cataphract cavalry. The *Praecepta* does not specify how the menavlatoi use their weapon to defeat the cataphracts: do they hurl or thrust their menavlion — presumably aimed at the chest of the armoured horse? What the *Praecepta* probably envisaged was something along these lines. The pikes of the hoplites, bristling well to the fore of the taxiarchy (given their long reach of thirty spans which would have dwarfed the length of the menavlion) would have achieved first strike against the cataphracts. Thus, the enemy would run up against a thicket of pikes which normally would be enough to halt the charge of the cataphracts. However, if the enemy managed to break through this barrier, then the menavlatoi, standing ready, would dispatch their foes by stabbing (according to the *Sylloge*) the enemy horse, for a fully armoured cavalryman, once dismantled — and encum-

23. *Praecepta* 3.35-4.6.

24. *Praecepta* 4.6-10: Καὶ τριπλῶσουσιν τὴν παράταξιν, ὡς μετὰ τῶν μοναυλάτων τετραπλῇ γένηται. Καὶ ἐὰν συμβῇ· ὃ οὐκ ἐλπίζομεν· συντριβῆναι τὰ τρία κονάρια τῶν ὀπλιτῶν παρὰ τῶν καταφράκτων τῶν ἐναντίων, τότε οἱ μοναυλάτοι, στερροὶ ὄντες, ἴστανται γενναίως, δεχόμενοι τὴν τῶν καταφράκτων ὀρμὴν καὶ ἀποστρέφουσιν αὐτούς.

25. Cf. McGeer, 'Μενάυλιον', 57; and *idem*, 'Inf. v. Cav.', 141. If the menavlion had the same length as the pike (according to McGeer), it is difficult to understand how the *Praecepta* could state that three ranks of hoplite pikes take the brunt of the enemy charge first if the menavlatoi are deployed in front of the hoplites.

bered by the burden of heavy armour and, thus, lacking freedom of mobility to parry bodily thrusts — would have been an easy prey to dispatch. It seems that the change in tactics from the *Sylloge* may have resulted from the rather ill-considered prescriptions in that treatise where the menavlatoi are instructed to advance unsupported to counter cataphract cavalry: a lone unit of 300 men, even if armed with a menavlion, is doomed with failure by being overrun from a cavalry charge.

In other instances the menavlatoi are seen co-operating with the light infantry javelin-men, bowmen and slingers in a skirmishing capacity. If the enemy infantry rush to attack in a linear array, the hoplites pin down the enemy to their front while the javelin-men and menavlatoi group themselves into 'phalanxes' and attempt to outflank the enemy. On the other hand, if the enemy infantry attack in an orderly manner, then the javelin-men and menavlatoi are dispatched to wherever the battle is contested most hotly.²⁶

Another role is attested in the *De Re Militari*, where the enemy's main army has been defeated but there are still some stragglers.²⁷

Also, if they are standing among boulders and precipitous rocks guarding the roads below them, one must dispatch javelin-men and light infantry — bowmen and slingers — and, if possible, also some menavlatoi should set out immediately from the flat and more level terrain to encircle those precipitous places.

Ouranos, again, only this time mimicking the *De Re Militari*, repeats the same maxim with almost identical words:²⁸

26. *Praecepta* 4.19-25. McGeer, 'Inf. v. Cav.', 140.

27. *De Re Militari* xx, ed. and trans. G.T. Dennis, in: *Three Byzantine Military Treatises* (Washington, D.C. 1985) 300.128-32: Καὶ, εἰ μὲν εἰς λίθους καὶ πέτρας κρημνώδεις ἴστανται φυλάττοντες κάτωθεν τὰς ὁδοὺς, δεῖ ἀποστεῖλαι ἀκοντιστάς καὶ ψιλοὺς, τοξότας καὶ σφενδονιστάς, εἰ δυνατόν καὶ ἐκ τῶν μεναυλάτων τινὰς πρὸς τὸ ἀπογυρεῖσαι τοὺς αὐτοὺς κρημνώδεις τόπους, καὶ ἐκ ὁμαλῶν καὶ πεδινωτέρων τόπων ἐπ' εὐθείας ἔβειν.

28. Ouranos, *Tact.* lxiv.8 (de Foucault, 295): Καὶ ἂν μὲν ἴστανται ὕψηλὰ εἰς πέτρας κρημνώδεις, καὶ φυλάττωσιν ὑποκάτω τὰς ὁδοὺς, ἀπόστειλον καὶ ριπταριστάς καὶ τοξότας καὶ σφενδοβολιστάς, εἰ ἔστι δυνατόν καὶ ἐκ τῶν μεναυλάτων τινὰς πρὸς τὸ ἀπογυρίσαι τοὺς αὐτοὺς κρημνώδεις τόπους, καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὁμαλῶν καὶ πεδινωτέρων τόπων ἔλθειν ὀρθὰ κατ' αὐτῶν.

Also, if they are standing high up on rocks and keep watch on the roads from below, then dispatch javelin-throwers, bowmen and slingers and, if it is possible, also some menavlatoi should set out immediately against them from the flat and more level terrain to encircle those precipitous places.

The menavlatoi, when detached from the hoplites, must have also been capable of hurling their weapon, even if only a short distance, for, otherwise, they could not have played any role in such difficult terrain. It is pertinent to note that all the other troops sent ahead to skirmish in the difficult terrain were capable of skirmishing and shooting with their weapons which suggests, *a priori*, that the menavlatoi, too, were capable of these functions.

The menavlatoi, therefore, had a dual capacity: either to assist the hoplites to defeat cataphract cavalry and another to detach themselves from the taxiarchy to act as skirmishers.

In the *De Velitatione*, the menavlatoi are also recommended to be employed to barricade the mountain passes, only this time they are seen supporting the hoplites:²⁹

In terrain which is unsuitable and hinders us from launching an attack against the enemy from a high mountain, but in which the road and ruggedness rises gradually and the road is made narrow by streams, the battle-line of foot-soldiers must still be deployed on the higher ground. Hold the road and barricade it with heavy-infantry hoplites and javelin-men; and behind them are those who throw stones by hand and with these are bowmen and slingers. Next, after the first battle-line deploy a second behind them and on both sides of the battle-lines guarding the main road position javelin-men, bowmen and slingers.

From this passage, two different types of javelin-men can be discerned: those marshalled with the hoplites and those who function as light infantry. In the former case, the 'javelin-men' are in the position assigned to the menavlatoi according to the *Praecepta*. That they are referred to as javelin-men in the *De Velitatione* is not misleading considering that the menavlion is a kind of javelin. The *Praecepta*, furthermore, notes that when the Byzantine cataphract cavalry press home their charge directed

29. *De Velitatione* iii.3, ed. G. Dagron and H. Mihaescu, and trans. G. Dagron, *Le traité sur la guérilla (De Velitatione) de l'empereur Nicéphore Phocas (963-969)* (Paris 1986) 43.16-24.

to the spot where the enemy commander-in-chief is positioned, then not even the menavlion of the enemy javelin-men will be enough to halt the impetus of the cataphracts.³⁰ Here, in this one passage, even the author of the *Praecepta* equates the menavlion as a weapon capable of being used by the javelin-men although in all other references he is careful to distinguish between the menavlatoi and the javelin-men.

It is precisely this dual capacity which probably accounted for the dramatic increase in numbers of the menavlatoi from the 300 mentioned in the *Sylloge* to the 1,200 combatant menavlatoi of the *Praecepta*. In the former treatise the menavlatoi have a specialised role to defeat cataphract cavalry and for this sole purpose a unit of 300 men would have sufficed; however, as Byzantine generals realised that the menavlatoi had a more variegated purpose, so their numbers increased in direct proportion.

In some respects, the menavlion may be likened to the pilum used by the Imperial Roman legionaries and the tactics they used when confronted by cataphract cavalry. In the *Expediitio contra Alanos* of Arrian,³¹ the legionaries were deployed in a novel way to counter the impetus of the Alan cataphract cavalry. The first four ranks were legionaries armed with their traditional weapon: the heavy javelin (*pilum*),³² with the next four ranks of legionaries equipped with a light javelin (*lancea*) to be hurled overhead of the first four ranks.³³ If the Alan cataphract cavalry charged home, they were to be countered by a bulwark of legionaries where the first rank aimed their pilum against the chest of

30. *Praecepta* 8.21-5: Καὶ τὴν τρίγωνον παράταξις τῶν καταφράκτων (πρὸς τὸ μέρος) ὁρθῶσαι, ἐν ᾧ ἵστανται ὁ ἀρχηγὸς τοῦ στρατοῦ τῶν ἐναντίων. Καὶ τότε τὰ μὲν κοντάρια τῶν ἐμπροσθεν πεζῶν τῶν ἐναντίων συνθλασθήσεται ὑπὸ τῶν καταφράκτων, αἱ δὲ σαγίται αὐτῶν ἀνενέργητοι ἔσονται· ὥσαυτως καὶ τὰ τῶν ἀκοντιστῶν μόνονα.

31. Arrian, *Expediitio contra Alanos*, ed. A.G. Ross with amendments by G. Wirth, in: *Quae exstant omnia: Scripta minora et fragmenta*, 2 (Leipzig 1968) 177-85.

32. I follow the school of thought on the arming of the legionaries for this campaign that their κοντός was a pilum and not a long spear. On the former interpretation: *RE*, s.v., 'pilum', and F. Kiechle, 'Die "Taktik" des Flavius Arrianus', *BRGK* 45 (1964) 87-129; and for the latter interpretation: E.L. Wheeler, 'Flavius Arrianus: A Political and Military Biography' (Ph.D. diss., Duke University 1977) 260-76, and A.B. Bosworth, 'Arrian and the Alani', *HSCP* 81 (1977) 242.

33. Arr. *Alan.* xvi; xvii.

the enemy horse while the next three ranks hurled their pilum at point-blank range against any target that presented itself.³⁴ Arrian states that the pilum had a long and tapering iron spear-point so that if the pilum did not mortally wound its opponent, then the malleable, iron spear-point would remain imbedded in the cavalryman's corslet or shield to his discomfiture. Thus, the pilum, also, had a dual capacity according to Arrian: it could be used to stab at the chest of an armoured horse and be hurled at the same.

It was probably no coincidence that the menavlatoi were to be stationed in the front rank of the hoplites to defeat cataphract cavalry by presumably thrusting their weapon. The menavlion and the pilum were similar in length and both had long, iron spear-points which could be used to stab against the chest of an armoured horse and could also be thrown, although at point-blank range. This is precisely what differentiated the menavlatoi from the light infantry javelin-man: the latter could only use his weapon in a skirmishing capacity for throwing. The menavlion, on the other hand, with its long, iron spear-point coupled with its heavy, wooden shaft gave it a more appreciable chance of piercing armour without shattering on impact and also had a secondary purpose of being hurled if the menavlatoi were called upon to act as skirmishers.

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34. Arr. *Alan.* xvi; xvii; xxvi. On the problems with this text: Bosworth, 238-40, nn.92 and 94.

Epidemic disease in central Syria in the late sixth century Some new insights from the verse of Ḥassān ibn Thābit

LAWRENCE I. CONRAD

Any interpretation of Near Eastern history touching upon the sixth and seventh centuries must invariably come to terms with the numerous causes of mortality, destruction, and social and economic disruption that preceded the Arab conquests. One of these factors was undoubtedly the bubonic plague, which descended the Nile in the summer of 641, spread through the Delta and passed to Syrian ports in the winter of that year; by the summer of 542 it had reached Constantinople itself and infected, among many other places, large parts of inland Asia Minor and Syria.

This 'Plague of Justinian' and the repeated epidemics which followed it have long been generally recognized as a problem of considerable historical importance, and the useful modern studies, which may be traced as far back as Gibbon,¹ have been numerous.² In my own contribution to this literature, published

1. See Edward Gibbon, *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, ed. J.B. Bury, 2nd ed. (London 1901-1902) IV, 436-440.

2. J.B. Bury, *History of the Later Roman Empire from the Death of Theodosius I to the Death of Justinian (A.D. 395 to A.D. 565)* (London 1923) II, 62-66; Ernst Stein, *Histoire du Bas-Empire* (Paris 1949-1959) II, 758-761; John L. Teall, 'The Barbarians in Justinian's Armies', *Speculum* 40 (1965) 294-322; Peter Charanis, 'Observations on the Demography of the Byzantine Empire', in *Proceedings of the XIIIth International Conference of Byzantine Studies*, ed. J.M. Hussey, D. Obolensky, and S. Runciman (London 1967) 1-19; Josiah C. Russell, 'That Earlier Plague', *Demography* 5 (1968) 174-184; Jean-Noël Biraben and Jacques Le Goff, 'La peste dans le Haut Moyen Âge', *Annales* 24 (1969) 1484-1510; P. Allen, 'The "Justinianic" Plague', 49 (1979) 5-20. More sceptical positions have recently been taken on the matter; these will be considered at the end of this study.

eight years ago,³ I sought to argue three points. First, the sixth-century plagues must be viewed within the context of the first great plague pandemic, a cycle of outbreaks which did not end with the close of the sixth century, but rather continued to ravage the Near East until 749. Second, a more accurate impression of the plagues of the sixth century thus emerges if one takes into account not only the standard Greek historical texts, but also the material in other genres, such as hagiography and poetry, and in other languages, specifically, Syriac and Arabic. These works are especially illuminating concerning the plagues of the seventh and eighth centuries, and are useful for those of the sixth not only for their direct testimony, but also for the details they provide relevant to the pandemic as a whole. Finally, the real challenge confronting the historian is not to estimate the specific range and magnitude of overall mortality, which were for the most part unknown even to the survivors and can hardly be discovered by modern researchers on the basis of the information available thus far, but rather to determine the impact of this mortality on society in the early medieval Near East. That is, how did the plague operate as a factor of historical change? Massive mortality is in itself an element of historical change, but to prove that many people died in the plagues of the first pandemic (a fairly easy task) is not to establish the rôle of this destruction in broader or long-term historical processes. Many people died of malaria in Etruscan Italy,⁴ for example, and under such circumstances a contemporary observer would not have expected the imminent rise of a powerful new state in the area.

I will return to this issue below, but in the main the present study seeks to fill a gap in my earlier discussion. In the latter, I pointed out that between 542 and 610 the plague was particularly severe in northern Syria,⁵ the region of the renowned 'Dead

3. Lawrence I. Conrad, 'The Plague in Bilād al-Shām in Pre-Islamic Times', in Muḥammad 'Adnān al-Bakhīt and Muḥammad 'Aṣḥūr, eds., *Proceedings of the Symposium on Bilād al-Shām during the Byzantine Period* (Amman 1986) II, 143-163.

4. See Angelo Celli, *Storia della malaria nell'Agro Romano* (Castello 1925).

5. Conrad, 'The Plague in Bilād al-Shām', 157.

Cities' studied by Tchalenko,⁶ and more recently by Sodini, Tate, and others.⁷ Similarly straightforward evidence for other parts of Syria is lacking, but this could of course be put down to the fact that these areas produced no Evagrius (wr. 594) to tell the tale, or at least not one whose work has survived. Nevertheless, a number of subsequent studies have suggested that in the mid-sixth century plague also reached central Syria, primarily on the basis of sweeping generalizations in late medieval Syriac sources, which either state explicitly or imply that all the inhabited world was infected.⁸ While these sources usually speak of late antique events on very good authority, information which is more specific and amenable to close critique would clearly be desirable. Fortunately, data of this sort is to hand in several poems by the Arab poet Ḥassān ibn Thābit, and as these also concern plague in the region of the ancient Decapolis, this is an appropriate occasion to bring these poems to the attention of a wider scholarly audience.

Ḥassān ibn Thābit and his Verse

Ḥassān was a well-to-do notable of the tribe of Khazraj in Medina, and was probably born around 570.⁹ The chronology of his career is unknown, but it is clear that by the end of the sixth century he had established himself as a leading poet well known among the Arab tribes of Arabia and Syria. He had especially close ties with the Ghassānids, enjoyed their patronage, and was a regular attendant at their meeting sessions, though he was not what one could call a 'court poet'. With the rise of Islam and the *hijra* of the Prophet Muḥammad to Medina, Ḥassān eventually

6. Georges Tchalenko, *Villages antiques de la Syrie du Nord* (Paris 1953-1958).

7. Jean-Pierre Sodini et al., *Déhès (Syrie du Nord), campagnes I-III (1976-1978); recherches sur l'habitat rural* (Paris 1980; = *Syria* 57, 1-304).

8. See, for example, Maurice Sartre, *Bostra: des origines à l'Islam* (Paris 1985) 127-128.

9. In his 'Die ghassānischen Fürsten aus dem Hause Gafna's', *Abhandlungen der Königlich Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin* (1887) 41, Theodor Nöldeke proposed that Ḥassān was probably born around 590, but this is certainly too late. Cf. the studies cited in the following note.

came over to the Muslim side and, as was common in those days, his poetic skills were welcomed as means to promote the Muslim cause, praise Muḥammad, and belittle and mock his enemies. He was less active in later years, probably due to old age, and of the various dates given for his death, 40/659 is likely to be close to the truth.¹⁰

As close to 300 poems or fragments of poems ascribed to Ḥassān have survived, his *Diwān*, collected and edited in a fine edition by Professor Walid 'Arafat,¹¹ would seem to comprise a valuable historical source. There are, however, some serious source-critical problems to consider here. The historical allusions in ancient Arabic poetry are notoriously difficult to date, and sometimes to identify as well. The fixing of the geographical context of potentially illuminating verses is often problematic, and it must be borne in mind that the poet's choice of words and phrasing was at all times affected by the need to adhere to a fixed metre and rhyme scheme and by his desire to present his audience with vivid imagery and elegant rhetorical constructions. Even when something as specific as place names is provided, these are sometimes rendered especially difficult to identify not only by the metrical and rhyme constraints imposed on the poet, but also by the fact that toponyms are subject to significant change over the centuries. Of an old name it is sometimes only the consonantal root that survives, if that; and in cases where there survive multiple names with a similar root or form, it is often difficult to determine which of the known alternatives is the correct one. Indeed, it is often possible that the name used by the ancient poet subsequently fell into disuse and survives in no other extant source, in which case the examination of similar names in search of the required one will be futile from the start.

In the case of Ḥassān ibn Thābit, a further problem is posed by the very fact of his renown. Ḥassān was so famous, and his

10. See Walid N. 'Arafat, 'A Critical Introduction to the Study of the Poems Ascribed to Ḥassān ibn Thābit' (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of London, 1954) 3-20; *idem*, art. 'Ḥassān b. Thābit' in *EI*², III (Leiden 1971) 271b-273a.

11. Ḥassān ibn Thābit, *Diwān*, ed. Walid N. 'Arafat (Leiden 1971; E.J.W. Gibb Memorial Series, 25).

rôle as the favoured poet of the Prophet so prominent, that in the generations after his death many poems came to be falsely ascribed to him, either through deliberate forgery or due to the natural tendency for verse of uncertain authorship to be ascribed eventually to celebrated poets. The details of this process have been elucidated in a series of valuable studies by 'Arafat,¹² and its scale may be judged from his conclusion that between 60 and 70 percent of the poetry attributed to Ḥassān may be spurious.¹³ Poems relevant to the career of Muḥammad are more often than not fabrications attached to prose narratives in order to lend these accounts the added dramatic flourish and literary flavour that could only be offered by poetry — the primary vehicle of literary expression in the Arab oral culture of pre- and early Islamic times.¹⁴ Other odes are the work of the descendants of the Anṣār and reflect their efforts to regain some of the status they had lost when, having sided against the Umayyad caliph Yazīd I in the Second Civil War, they were defeated with great loss of life in the Battle of al-Ḥarra in 63/682. Indeed, the problem of the authenticity of the verse ascribed to Ḥassān was already recognized in early medieval times. The attribution to Ḥassān of poetry concerning the Prophet's biography was repeatedly rejected by historical and literary critics, and Ibn Sallām al-Jumāhī (d. 231/845) wrote: 'More poetry has been foisted onto Ḥassān than

12. 'Arafat, 'Critical Introduction', 274-285; *idem*, 'A Controversial Incident and the Related Poem in the Life of Ḥassān b. Thābit', *BSOAS* 17 (1955) 197-205 (esp. 204-205); *idem*, 'An Interpretation of the Different Accounts of the Visit of the Tamīm Delegation to the Prophet in A.H. 9', *BSOAS* 17 (1955) 416-425 (esp. 420-425); *idem*, 'The Development of a Dramatic Theme in the Story of Khubaiḥ b. 'Adiyy and the Related Poems', *BSOAS* 21 (1958) 15-30; *idem*, 'Early Critics of the Authenticity of the Poetry of the *Sīra*', *BSOAS* 21 (1958) 453-463; *idem*, 'An Aspect of the Forger's Art in Early Islamic Poetry', *BSOAS* 28 (1965) 477-482; *idem*, 'The Historical Significance of Later Anṣārī Poetry', *BSOAS* 29 (1966) 1-11, 221-232.

13. 'Arafat, 'Critical Introduction', 560; *idem*, 'Ḥassān b. Thābit', 272b.

14. A seminal series of studies on this question has recently been published by Gregor Schoeler. See his 'Die Frage der schriftlichen oder mündlichen Überlieferung der Wissenschaften im frühen Islam', *Der Islam* 62 (1985) 201-230; 'Weiteres zur Frage der schriftlichen oder mündlichen Überlieferung der Wissenschaften im Islam', *Der Islam* 66 (1989) 38-67; 'Mündliche Thora und Hadīṭ', *Der Islam* 66 (1989) 213-251; 'Schreiben und Veröffentlichen. Zu Verwendung und Funktion der Schrift in den ersten islamischen Jahrhundert', *Der Islam* 69 (1992) 1-43.

onto anyone else. Any time the Quraysh quarrelled among themselves and slandered one another, they attributed to him huge amounts of poetry the true authors of which are impossible to establish.¹⁵

Another matter entirely, however, are the poems on pre-Islamic times which are ascribed to Ḥassān. Many of these are, in stylistic terms, the work of an undoubtedly gifted poet, and in a society in which status and privilege depended on links with the Prophet, his Companions, and the events associated with the emergence of Islam, less was to be gained by forging poems about specific incidents from the pre-Islamic past which did not relate to Muslim concerns. The poems attributed to Ḥassān which relate to the Ghassānids are especially unlikely to be forgeries; they praise notables such as the Ghassānid leader Jabala ibn al-Ayham, who later, at the time of the conquests, fought against the Muslims and was eventually exiled to Byzantine territory by the second caliph, 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb (r. 13-23/634-644). Other details, such as the tribe's preparations to celebrate Easter, mentioned in the second of the two poems of concern to us here, surely exclude the possibility of forgery among later Muslim circles, and the numerous central Syrian place names mentioned in these poems are unlikely to have been meaningful (or perhaps even known) to later forgers in Medina, where most of the false ascriptions to Ḥassān seem to have taken place. As both of the poems to be discussed here fall within the category of the Ghassānid material and bear no indication of later origin, it is, I think, safe to accept them as genuine poems by Ḥassān, or at least, as poems written in central Syria on the eve of the rise of Islam.¹⁶

The Ḥawrān and the 'Stinging of the Jinn'

The first poem is a brief passage of only three lines, as follows:

15. Muḥammad ibn Sallām al-Jumāhī, *Tabaqāt fuhūl al-shu'arā'*, ed. Maḥmūd Muḥammad Shākir (Cairo 1952) 179. This topic is discussed at length in 'Arafat, 'Early Critics'.

16. 'Arafat is of the same opinion concerning these poems. See his 'Critical Introduction', 543-552.

١ صَابَتْ شَعَاتُهُ بُصْرَى وَفِي رَمَحٍ مِنْهُ دُخَانٌ حَرِيقٍ كَالْأَعَاصِيرِ
 ٢ أَفْنَى بَذَى بَعْلَ حَتَّى بَادَ سَاكِنُهَا وَكُلُّ قَصْرِ مِنَ الْخَمَانِ مَعْمُورٍ
 ٣ فَأَعْجَلَ الْقَوْمَ عَنْ حَاجَتِهِمْ شُغْلٌ مِنْ وَخْزِ جَنَّ بَارِضِ الرُّومِ مَذْكُورِ

1. Its banners descended on Buṣrā, and in Rumah
Like whirlwinds it left the smoke of its blazing passage.
2. It wreaked havoc in Dhū Ba'l until its inhabitants were wiped out,
And destroyed every inhabited compound in al-Khammān.
3. Thus were the people hurried on from their requisite tasks
By the distracting stinging of *jinn* well-known in the land of the Romans.¹⁷

In his recension of the *Dīwān* of Ḥassān, the philologist Muḥammad ibn Ḥabīb (d. 245/860) introduces this passage with the statement *wa-qāla fī ṭā'ūnin kāna bi-l-Shām*, 'And he said, concerning a plague epidemic that broke out in Syria'.¹⁸ On its own, however, the passage presupposes that the reader will know what it is that is being discussed, and the lines may thus represent all that survives from what was originally a longer poem.

That Ibn Ḥabīb was correct in stating that the plague is meant may be confirmed from the third line, where Ḥassān says that the people were hurried on from their requisite tasks by 'the distracting stinging of *jinn*', *shughulun min wakhzi jinnin*. The animistic notion of spirit beings stinging or pricking people with pestilence-poisoned arrows and lances is already found in Greek thinking as early as Homer,¹⁹ and dates back to remote antiquity in the Near East.²⁰ During the plague pandemic of 541-749 it manifested itself in a number of fabulous tales about the spread of the disease. People 'saw' plague-bearing apparitions in human guise, dreamed about them, and heard them whispering to

17. *Dīwān*, I, 228 no. 105.

18. *Ibid.*

19. See *Iliad* I.43-67, where Apollo inflicts pestilence upon both men and beasts with arrows fired from his silver bow.

20. Among the Egyptians and Canaanites, for example, the god Reshep was a major deity believed to be responsible for afflicting mankind with epidemic diseases with his arrows and lance. Among the ancient Israelites he was demoted to the status of

them.²¹ In 542, it was said in Syria that a brass boat full of headless black men was off the coast, infecting one port after another, while in Egypt it was reported that in one town far up the Nile a horrible supernatural being had spread the slaughter through the streets.²² Theophanes (d. 818) writes that during the plague of 746 in Constantinople mysterious forces traced out crosses in olive oil on men's clothing and on church vestments and curtains; later, people saw horrible faces, spoke with bizarre creatures, and witnessed them entering their homes and slaying or wounding members of their families with plague-poisoned swords.²³

In the traditional lore of the Arab tribes of pre-Islamic Syria and Arabia the cause of the plague was considered to be the 'sting' (*wakhz*) or 'lances' (*rimāḥ*) of the *jinn*, sometimes inspired by the malice of one's enemies. The verses under discussion here are but one illustration of this belief in pre-Islamic times. In another, the poet al-Asadī swears to the Ghassānid prince al-Ḥārith, concerning al-Asadī's son Ubayy:

By your life, I did not fear for Ubayy
 The lances of a tribe whose [warriors] bridle asses,
 But I did fear for Ubayy
 The lances of the *jinn*, or you, al-Ḥārith!²⁴

a lesser demon who spreads pestilence at the command of Yāhweh, and in some Old Testament passages his name seems to become nothing more than one of numerous terms for 'pestilence'. See Deuteronomy 32:23-24, Job 5:7, Psalms 76:4, 78:48. On Reshep, see William J. Fulco, *The Canaanite God Reshep* (New Haven 1976) 12-13, 23-25, 27, 37, 50, 56-62, 69-70; and on spirits more generally as the bearers of pestilence, cf. Henry E. Sigerist, *Civilisation and Disease* (Chicago 1943) 141-142; L. Fabian Hirst, *The Conquest of Plague: a Study of the Evolution of Epidemiology* (Oxford 1953) 1-2; Ernst Zbinden, *Die Djinn des Islam und der altorientalische Geisterglaube* (Bern and Stuttgart 1953) 104, 106, 120, 122, 125.

21. Procopius (wr. 550), *De bello persico* II.xxii.10-13; ed. Jakob Haury in his *Procopii Caesariensis Opera Omnia*, 2nd ed. by Gerhard Wirth (Leipzig 1962-1964) I, 251-252.

22. John of Ephesus (d. ca. 585), *Historia ecclesiastica*, fragments of Part II ed. J.P.N. Land in his *Anecdota syriaca*, II (Leiden 1868) 307-309.

23. Theophanes, *Chronographia*, ed. C. de Boor (Leipzig 1883) 423-424.

24. Al-Jāhīz (d. 255/868), *Kitāb al-ḥayawān*, ed. 'Abd al-Salām Muḥammad Ḥārūn, 2nd ed. (Cairo 1385-1389/1965-1969), I, 351; VI, 218-219; al-Tha'alibī (d. 429/1038), *Thimār al-qulūb*, ed. Muḥammad Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (Cairo 1384/1965) 68; Ibn Abīl-Ḥadīd (d. 656/1258), *Sharḥ nahj al-balāgha*, ed. Muḥammad Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (Cairo 1959-1964) XV, 240.

As with the verses attributed to Ḥassān ibn Thābit, later authorities commenting on this passage consider 'lances of the *jinn*' to refer to the plague in Syria.²⁵

In fact, the Arabic sources repeatedly stress that the bedouins considered plague to be the 'sting' or 'lances' of the *jinn*, and indicate that after the rise of Islam there was an effort to give this belief new legitimacy by promoting it as a *ḥadīth*, or tradition of the Prophet.²⁶ This effort met with little success, but popular opinion continued to adhere to the idea that plague infection was a wound from the *jinn*. In mid-Umayyad times, the Azraqī poet Zayd ibn Jundub al-Iyādī lamented:

Had it not been for the lances of the *jinn*, they would not have been shaken
By the lances of enemies, whether Arab or otherwise.²⁷

Noting that the plague pandemic ended just as the Umayyad dynasty was overthrown, the poet Muḥammad ibn Dhu'ayb al-'Umānī (fl. ca. 180/796) interpreted the coincidence as a sign of divine favour for the recent 'Abbāsīd revolution:

Indeed, God has driven off the lances of the *jinn*,
And has eliminated torment and false exactions.²⁸

25. Al-Jāhīz (*Ḥayawān*, VI, 219) elucidates the passage most fully: 'He means to say: I did not fear that Ubayy, so strong and determined, would be killed by vile men and those who bridle asses rather than horses; I was only fearful for him from you, that you would be the one to thrust him through, or that the plague of Syria would do so'. See also al-Tha'ālibī, *loc. cit.*

26. Ibn A'tham al-Kūfī (wr. 204/819), *Kitāb al-futūḥ*, ed. Muḥammad 'Abd al-Mu'īd Khān *et al.* (Hyderabad 1388-1395/1968-1975) I, 313; Aḥmad ibn Hanbal (d. 241/855), *Al-Musnad* (Cairo A.H. 1311-1313), IV, 395, 413; al-Jāhīz, *Ḥayawān*, I, 351; VI, 218-220; Ibn Qutayba (d. 276/889), *Uyūn al-akhbār*, ed. Aḥmad Zakī al-'Adawī (Cairo 1343-1348/1925-1930) II, 114; al-Mas'ūdī (d. 345/956), *Murūj al-dhahab*, ed. Charles Pellat (Beirut 1966-1979) III, 214; al-Ṭabarānī (d. 360/971), *Al-Mu'jam al-saghīr*, ed. 'Abd al-Rahmān Muḥammad 'Uthmān (Medina 1388/1968) I, 50, 127; al-Tha'ālibī, *Thimār al-qulūb*, 68; Ibn 'Asākir (d. 571/1176), *Ta'rikh madīnat Dimashq*, I, ed. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Munajjid (Damascus 1371/1951) 557; Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ nahj al-balāgha*, XV, 240.

27. Al-Jāhīz, *Hawawān*, VI, 219. On this poet of the Azāriqa, see Iḥsān 'Abbās, *Dīwān shi'r al-khawārij*, 4th ed. (Beirut 1402/1982), 143-144.

28. Al-Jāhīz, *Ḥayawān*, VI, 219; al-Tha'ālibī, *Thimār al-qulūb*, 68. The second hemistich refers to the harsh fiscal policies of the fallen Umayyads. On the end of the pandemic in 131/749, at the time of the 'Abbāsīd revolution, see my 'Tā'ūn and Wabā': Conceptions of Plague and Pestilence in Early Islam', *JESHO* 25 (1982) 288-290.

Whether or not plague was caused by the *jinn* was hotly debated in the Arabic plague treatises that began to appear after the Black Death in the mid-fourteenth century,²⁹ and up until recent times popular belief continued to attribute the plague to the machinations of the *jinn*.³⁰

The precise outbreak of plague to which Ḥassān refers is difficult to determine, but can be fixed within reasonable limits. As Ḥassān was born around 570, at least twenty years should be allowed before one would expect any audience to take serious notice of verse he might be composing. Young men in those days rarely knew how old they were, and it was the onset of puberty which signalled their readiness for the responsibilities of adulthood,³¹ so this calculation is necessarily very approximate. But the year 590 may be proposed as a general *terminus post quem*. The other end of the range may be fixed by the way Ḥassān refers to Syria as 'the land of the Romans', *arḍ al-Rūm*. That is, Syria was still a province of the Byzantine Empire at the time he wrote. Ḥassān would not have used such a phrase after the Arab conquest of the 630s, nor even in the wake of the Persian invasion and occupation of 611-614. It is just possible that he could have referred to Syria in this way after the Byzantine reconquest of the province in 628, but the Arab conquest followed so soon afterward that this seems less likely than a date prior to the Persian invasion.

29. Muḥammad al-Manbijī (wr. 765/1364), *Mā rawāhu al-wā'ūn fī akhbār al-tā'ūn*, Dār al-kutub al-miṣriya Ms. no. 16 *Ṭibb ḥalīm*, fols. 180v-182v; Ibn Abī Ḥajala (d. 776/1375), *Daf' al-niqma fī l-ṣalāt 'alā nabi l-rahma*, Escorial MS. Arabe no. 1772, fols. 42r-55r; Ibn Hajar al-'Asqalānī (d. 852/1449), *Badhl al-mā'ūn fī fadl al-tā'ūn*, Dār al-kutub al-miṣriya Ms. no. 2353 *Taṣawwuf*, fols. 17r-21v. See also Michael W. Dols, *The Black Death in the Middle East* (Princeton 1977) 117-118.

30. See, for example, John Lewis Burckhardt, *Travels in Arabia* (London 1829) 414-415; C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka, II: Aus dem heutigen Leben* (The Hague 1889) 63; Alois Musil, *Arabia Petrea, III: Ethnologischer Reisebericht* (Vienna 1908) 320-323; Contance E. Padwick, 'Notes on the Jinn and the Ghoul in the Peasant Mind of Lower Egypt', *BSOAS* 3 (1923-1925) 443-444; René Basset, *Mille et un contes, récits, et légendes arabes* (Paris 1924-1927) I, 123-125; Toufik Canaan, *Dämonenglaube im Lande der Bibel* (Leipzig 1929) 28; Zbinden, *Die Djinn der Islam*, 17-18, 24-25, 30, 40, 48, 49, 53, 54. Cf. also Nancy Gallagher, *Egypt's Other Wars: Epidemics and the Politics of Public Health* (Syracuse 1990) 120-121.

31. See, for example, my 'Seven and the *Tasbi'*: On the Implications of Numerical Symbolism for the Study of Medieval Islamic History', *JESHO* 31 (1988) 62-70.

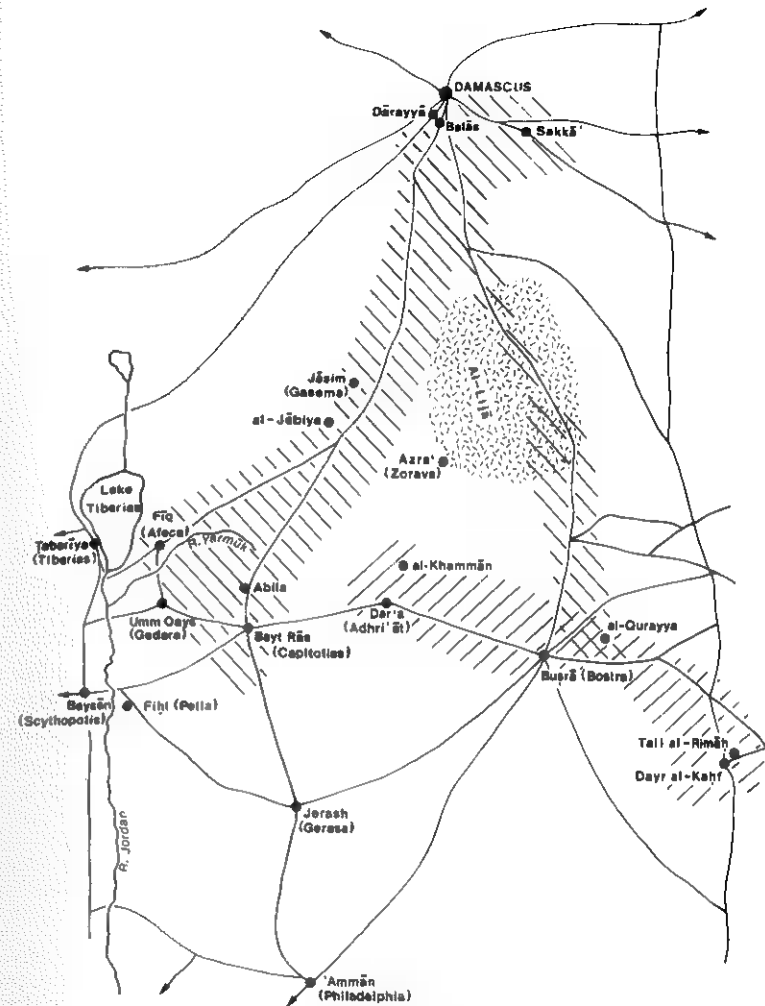
The year 610 may thus be accepted as a probable *terminus ante quem*. Within the range 590-610, a later rather than earlier date is suggested by the fact that Ḥassān describes the plague as 'well-known' or 'notorious', *madhkūr*. Syria was stricken by the plague at least four times between 541 and 592,³² and one might reasonably suspect that several repetitions would be required for the disease to become 'notorious'. The plague of 592, the personal impact of which is described so well for Antioch and northern Syria by Evagrius,³³ is the known epidemic which best fits our chronology, but it must be conceded straightaway that it is certain that the Hawrān had already been infected in the first great plague of 541-543. This is confirmed by a Greek inscription in Zorava (the only inscription to make explicit reference to the plague in this period) which records the building of a church in 542-543 under the direction of the bishop Varus, whose life God claimed with the 'doomed death of the plague'.³⁴ The epidemic described by Ḥassān could thus have been a later localized recurrence of plague not mentioned in other sources, and therefore not datable in terms of the plague chronology derivable from those sources. A link with the 592 plague in the north is attractive, but highly speculative, and a more secure judgment is to date this outbreak more generally, to some time between about 590 and 610.

The geographical range of the epidemic Ḥassān describes is suggested by the place names he cites (cf. the map below), and four of these are given in this passage. The famous Hawrān centre of Buṣrā of course requires no comment,³⁵ but the others are rather more difficult.

32. See Lawrence I. Conrad, 'The Plague in the Early Medieval Near East' (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Princeton University, 1981), 105-107, 124-125, 132, 154.
33. Evagrius, *Historia ecclesiastica* IV. 29; ed. J. Bidez and L. Parmentier (London 1898) 177-179.

34. See Johannes Koder, 'Ein inschriftlicher Beleg zur 'justinianischen' Pest in Zora (Azra'a)', in A.D. Kominis, ed., *Timitikos Tomos Bruno Lavagnini*, forthcoming. I am grateful to Professor Koder for providing me with a copy of his article prior to publication.

35. See Sartre, *Bostra*; and on the Islamic period, A. Abel, art. 'Boṣrā' in *IE²*, I (Leiden 1960) 1275b-1277b; Robert Schick, *The Christian Communities of Palestine from Byzantine to Islamic Rule: an Historical and Archaeological Study* (Princeton 1994) 274-276.



THE GOLAN AND HAWRĀN REGIONS
IN THE SIXTH CENTURY

- Roman roads
- /// Epidemic area attested by Poem 1
- \\ Epidemic area attested by Poem 2

Metrical considerations may well be responsible for the form Rumaḥ, and any of a number of variant forms is possible. Commentators on Ḥassān's *Dīwān* place both Rumaḥ and Buṣrā under the administrative authority of Damascus, which confirms the place as a site in the Ḥawrān.³⁶ The geographer al-Bakrī (d. 487/1094) identifies a Rumḥ as a mountain (*jabal*) in the territory of the Banū Kilāb,³⁷ and Yāqūt (d. 626/1229) also associates it with this area and mentions a certain Dhāt al-Rumḥ as a village in Syria.³⁸ Though imprecise, these descriptions suggest a location on the eastern desert fringe of the Ḥawrān, and an identification with a place called Tall al-Rimāḥ, 20 kilometres southeast of Ṣalkhad and the site of the third-century Roman fort now known as Dayr al-Kahf. This vantage point commands a limited view of the surrounding region, and so would have been important as a post for observing the movement of tribes in from the desert.³⁹ It also lay astride the major route, extending south from Buṣrā to the Wādī Sirḥān, used for commerce with the Arab tribes.⁴⁰ No details are available for habitation of the site through

36. Ḥassān ibn Thābit, *Dīwān*, II, 172. Ulrich Thilo mentions a Rumāḥ in his *Die Ortsnamen in der altarabischen Poesie* (Wiesbaden 1958) 87, and this place is often mentioned in Umayyad poetry. See, for example, Jarīr (d. ca. 111/729), *Dīwān*, ed. Nu'mān Amīn Ṭāḥā (Cairo 1969-1971), I, 87 v. 3, 458 v. 2; II, 749 v. 13; Dhū l-Rumma (d. ca. 117/735), *Dīwān*, ed. Carlile Henry Hayes Macartney (Cambridge 1919) 432 v. 12, 549 v. 9; Abū 'Ubayda (d. 211/826), *Naqā'id Jarīr wa-l-Farazdaq*, ed. A. A. Bevan (Leiden 1905-1912), II, 801 v. 19b, vocalized 'Rimḥ'. But this site is located in the sand desert of al-Dahnā in Arabia, and so cannot be the place referred to by Ḥassān.

37. Abū 'Ubayd al-Bakrī, *Mu'jam mā 'sta'jam*, ed. Muṣṭafā al-Saqqā (Cairo 1364-1371/1945-1951), II, 673, citing also a verse by Ṭahmān ibn 'Amr al-Kilābī.

38. Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, *Mu'jam al-buldān*, ed. Ferdinand Wüstenfeld (Leipzig 1866-1873), II, 816.

39. See René Dussaud and Frédéric Macler, *Voyage archéologique au Sāfā et dans le Djebel ed-Drūz* (Paris 1901) 178-182; René Dussaud, *Mission scientifique dans les régions désertiques de la Syrie moyenne* (Paris 1903) 29-30, 267-268; PAES, I, 29; André Poidebard, *La trace de Rome dans le désert de Syrie* (Paris 1934), I, 54, 60, 67; II, Plate XLV; René Dussaud, *La pénétration des arabes en Syrie avant l'Islam* (Paris 1955) 81; Maurice Sartre, *Trois études sur l'Arabie romaine et byzantine* (Brussels 1982), 103, 105, 133, 186; D. L. Kennedy, *Archaeological Explorations on the Roman Frontier in North-East Jordan* (London 1982; British Archaeological Reports, International Series, 134) 81.

40. See François Villeneuve, 'L'économie rurale et la vie des campagnes dans le Hauran antique (I^{er} siècle av. J.-C.-VII^e siècle ap. J.-C.): une approche', in J.-M. Denzer, ed., *Hauran I: recherches archéologiques sur la Syrie du Sud à l'époque hellénistique et romaine* (Paris 1985), I, 118.

much of the subsequent period, but in the late sixteenth century Ottoman census records mention it as a village of 49 households,⁴¹ and in 1858 Wetzstein placed a village called Rimāḥ near Tall al-Rimāḥ, though he does not seem to have visited it himself.⁴²

Al-Khammān is mentioned three times in the *Dīwān* of Ḥassān and is closely linked to the history of the Christian Arab tribes, particularly the Ghassānids, in pre-Islamic Syria.⁴³ The scholia to the text place al-Khammān in the district of al-Bathaniya (i.e. the ancient Batanaea) under the administration of Damascus,⁴⁴ and this is confirmed by the medieval geographers.⁴⁵ The administrative centre of al-Bathaniya was Adhri'āt (modern Dar'a),⁴⁶ and six kilometres north of this town lies the site that should be identified with al-Khammān. This is a hill, actually an outcrop of bedrock, now known as Tall al-'Arār; but the area around it was until recently called Arḍ al-Khammān ('Land of al-Khammān'), and explorers of the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century record the name of the hill itself as Tall al-Khammān.⁴⁷ It provides a commanding view for a great distance in all directions, and the surrounding countryside is good

41. Wolf-Dieter Hütteroth and Kamal Abdulfattah, *Historical Geography of Palestine, Transjordan and Southern Syria in the Late 16th Century* (Erlangen 1977) 219, where the register names a village called Imrah in the Nāhiya Banī Nashīya in the *qaḍā'* of the Ḥawrān. The authors were not able to identify this place with any known village in the Ḥawrān, but the official who transcribed the register has probably written Imrah in error for Irmāḥ, which was how the site was colloquially known even in the early twentieth century.

42. Johann Gottlieb Wetzstein, *Reisebericht über Hauran und die Trachonen* (Berlin 1860) map.

43. Ḥassān ibn Thābit, *Dīwān*, I, 116 v. 1, 228 v. 2, 255 v. 1.

44. *Ibid.*, II, 107, 193.

45. Al-Bakrī, *Mu'jam mā 'sta'jam*, II, 510-511; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān*, II, 469; Guy Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems* (Cambridge 1890) 484.

46. Al-Ya'qūbī (d. 284/897), *Kitāb al-buldān*, ed. M. J. de Goeje (Leiden 1892) 326.

47. Gottlieb Schumacher, *Across the Jordan* (London 1886) 179, 203; *idem*, 'Das südliche Basan', *ZDPV* 20 (1897) 75, 138; Rudolf Ernst Brünnow and Alfred von Dömaszewski, *Die Provincia Arabia* (Strassburg 1904-1909) III, 46; René Dussaud, *Topographie historique de la Syrie antique et médiévale* (Paris 1927) 336, also Map II; A2. Cf. Carl Steuernagel, *Namenliste des nördlichen Ostjordanlandes* (Leipzig 1927) 144, 145.

farm land, so one would expect a settlement to emerge here. There are references to al-Khammān in the ninth century⁴⁸ and during the Crusades,⁴⁹ but by the sixteenth century it seems to have disappeared. Western explorers found no village there, and at present all traces of ancient and medieval habitation have been effaced by the extensive cultivation of the plain and by modern artillery emplacements and bunkers on the rock outcrop itself.

The last place mentioned in this passage is Dhū Baʿl, which, so far as I have been able to determine, is unknown in the toponymy of the region. The name can mean a place where one can cultivate without irrigation; or, if it refers to the Canaanite god Baal, it would mean a place where Baal is, prevails, or is worshipped. Neither of these interpretations is of any help for locating the site, however, and for the time being Ḥassān's Dhū Baʿl cannot be identified.

These place names would seem to delineate the region affected by this plague as an area extending about 80 kilometres from al-Khammān and Dar'a southeast through Buṣrā and Ṣalkhad to Dayr al-Kahf and Tall al-Rimāḥ. But the poet would have been obliged to fit the place names he chose, as everything else, into the metrical scheme of the poem, and the fact that certain sites are named here does not necessarily establish where the plague did the most damage, or even that these places were of much importance. A look at the map, however, does show that the affected area attested by this poem exactly follows known Roman roads in the Ḥawrān, which is hardly coincidental given the tendency of the plague to spread locally along the main routes of commerce and communications.

One must allow for a considerable degree of hyperbole in descriptions of natural disasters, especially accounts by poets, but a number of subtle allusions and images in these verses indicate

48. Ibn al-Athīr (d. 630/1233), *Al-Kāmil fī l-ta'rikh* (Beirut 1385-1387/1965-1967) VII, 273.

49. Reinhold Röhrich, 'Studien zur mittelalterlichen Geographie und Topographie Syriens', *ZDPV* 10 (1887) 267; Siegfried Mittman, *Beiträge zur Siedlungs- und Territorialgeschichte des nördlichen Ostjordanlandes* (Wiesbaden 1970) 253-254.

what a catastrophe this plague must have been. Ḥassān says that the epidemic hurried people on 'from their requisite tasks', *'an ḥājātihim*, which refers to things one is compelled to do, or really ought to do. In view of the audience to which the verses were addressed, these tasks would include such responsibilities as the tending and herding of animals, and work in agricultural fields. That such work was severely disrupted in sixth-century Syrian plagues is confirmed by John of Ephesus in his account of the great plague of 542: on rural roads one encountered only the dead, domestic livestock wandered off untended, and animals trampled through fields of ripening crops which rotted for lack of cultivators to harvest them.⁵⁰

The phrase *'an ḥājātihim* also allows for interpretation in another important area: inability to keep up with customary practices and religious rituals for burial of the dead at a time when so many were dying. For the plague of 542 John of Ephesus describes how in Syria corpses were left in streets and public places;⁵¹ for Constantinople he relates that the dead littered the streets and floated in the Bosphorus, and he mentions his own later discovery of a plague pit where masses of people had been interred together.⁵² Also in the capital, Procopius records similar details: some victims, though prominent notables, lay unburied for many days; burial vaults were reopened and packed with as many dead as they would hold; corpses were laid in tight rows in massive pits; the roofs of towers in the city walls were torn off so the dead could be cast into them; and eventually, corpses were packed into boats and set adrift, or simply cast into the sea.⁵³ Various Arab writers mention the abandonment of normal burial customs during plague epidemics in early Islamic times and cite,

50. John of Ephesus, *Historia ecclesiastica*, II, 310-312. Cf. Procopius, *Anecdota* xxiii.20; ed. Haury, III, 144.

51. *Historia ecclesiastica*, II, 310.

52. *Ibid.*, II, 312-319; *idem*, *Lives of the Eastern Saints*, ed. and trans. E.W. Brooks (Paris 1923-1926; *Patrologia orientalis*, 17-19) 437-438, 531.

53. *De bello persico* II.xxiii.3-13, 17, 20; ed. Haury, I, 256-258, 259.

for example, numerous cases in which houses were sealed with the dead still inside them.⁵⁴

Archaeological evidence at various Decapolis cities has brought to light evidence suggesting similar problems during plague epidemics there. At Jerash, excavators have found a human cadaver in a cistern, and in a level from which it is clear that the cistern was at that time no longer used for water storage.⁵⁵ This may well betray an attempt to dispose of plague victims, all but one of which were removed in a later cleaning out of the tank. At Abila and Capitolias rock-cut tombs were reused for simultaneous multiple burials, sometimes of entire family groups, and in some cases with bodies being interred in haste and disorder.⁵⁶

It is of course impossible to attribute these features definitively to a sixth-century plague, much less to precisely the epidemic mentioned by Ḥassān, but the plague in this era does provide a very likely explanation not only for these phenomena, but also for a pair of inscriptions from Buṣrā. One is in Latin and originally stood on a monument erected by a patron in memory of three of his freedmen, who all seem to have died at the same time or in rapid succession.⁵⁷ The other is in Greek and is a collective epitaph for three children and the wife of a certain Alde, again a case in which a number of persons in a small defined group all seem to have died within a short span of time.⁵⁸ A valuable parallel may be seen in a Greek inscription at Nessana in the northern Negev: this again records the death of a family group, this time three children of a certain Khalaf Allāh, but provides

54. See al-Jāhiz, *Ḥayawān*, II, 155-156; al-Balādhuri (d. 279/892), *Ansāb al-ashraf*, IV.1, ed. Ihsān 'Abbās (Wiesbaden 1979) 465; Abū Zur'a al-Dimashqī (d. 280/893), *Ta'rikh*, ed. Shukr Allāh ibn Ni'mat Allāh al-Quchānī (Damascus 1400/1980) I, 519; al-Mubarrad (d. 285/896), *Al-Ta'āzī wa-l-marāthī*, ed. Muḥammad al-Dībājī (Damascus 1396/1976) 211.

55. See A.-M. Rasson and J. Seigne, 'Une cistern byzantino-omeyyade sur le sanctuaire de Zeus', *Syria* (1989) 149.

56. I am grateful to Dr. Robert Smith for sharing with me the details of his unpublished finds in rock-cut tombs at Abila.

57. See Maurice Sartre, ed., *Bostra* (Paris 1982; *Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie*, XIII.1) 246 (no. 9190).

58. *Ibid.*, 337 (no. 9405).

a date which places these deaths exactly in the period of the great Plague of Justinian in the early 540s.⁵⁹ In all these cases, the most likely explanation for the recording of such multiple deaths is an outbreak of epidemic disease, which beginning in 541 would almost certainly have been the plague.

An Epidemic in the Golan and Hawrān

Another poem composed by Ḥassān is of interest to us here, and offers equally valuable insights into the impact of epidemic disease, again probably the plague, in the central districts of Syria in the last years before the rise of Islam. This second poem survives in two versions. One is given in Muḥammad ibn Ḥabīb's recension of Ḥassān's *Dīwān*, as follows:

VERSION 1

١ لَمَنْ الدَّارُ أَوْحَشَتْ بِمَعَانٍ بَيْنَ أَعْلَى الْبِرْمُوكِ فَالْحَمَانِ
٢ فَأَلْقُرِيَّاتٍ مِنْ بِلَاسٍ فَدَارَ بَا فَسَكَاةٍ فَالْقُصُورِ الدَّوَانِي
٣ فَقَفَا جَاسِمٍ فَأَوْدِيَةِ الصُّفْرِ مَغْنَى قَنَابِلٍ وَهَجَانِ
٤ تِلْكَ دَارُ الْعَزِيزِ بَعْدَ أَنْيَسٍ وَحُلُولِ عَظِيمَةِ الْأَرْكَانِ
٥ هَبِلَتْ أُمُهُمْ وَقَدْ هَبِلَتْهُمْ يَوْمَ حَلُّوا بِحَارِثِ الْجَوْلَانِ
٦ قَدْ دَنَا الْفِضْحُ فَالْوَلَانِدُ يَنْظُمْنَ قُعُودًا أَكِلَةً الْمَرْجَانِ

59. George Eden Kirk and C. Bradford Wells, 'The Inscriptions', in H. Dunscombe Colt, ed., *Excavations at Nessana*, I (London 1962) 179-180 (no. 112). Although the corpus of available inscriptions is too small for much to be made of the grouping of texts around certain dates, it is at least worth observing that at Nessana the most significant grouping of texts is in October-November 541 (*ibid.*, 168, 179-181, nos. 80, 112-114). The same occurs at al-Ruḥayba, where the largest clustering of dated inscriptions is in the period 541-542; see Yoram Tsafrir et al., *Excavations at Rehovot in the Negev*, I: *The Northern Church* (Jerusalem 1988) 157-158, 160-161, nos. 5, 10A, 11.

- ٧ يَجْتَنِينَ الْجَادِيَّ فِي ثُقُبِ الرِّيطِ عَلَيْهَا مَجَاسِدُ الْكُتَّانِ
 ٨ لَا يُعَلِّلَنَّ بِالْمَغَافِرِ وَالصَّمْعِ وَلَا نَقْفِ حَنْظَلِ الشَّرِيَانِ
 ٩ ذَاكَ مَعْنَى مِنْ آلِ جَفْنَةَ فِي الدَّهْرِ وَحَقُّ تَعَاقُبِ الْأَزْمَانِ
 ١٠ قَدْ أَرَانِي هُنَاكَ حَقُّ مَكِينٍ عِنْدَ ذِي التَّاجِ مَجْلِسِي وَمَكَانِي

1. To whom belongs the abode rendered desolate in Ma'an,
From the heights of al-Yarmūk unto al-Khammān,
2. Then al-Qurayyāt down from Balās, then Dārayyā,
Then Sakkā', then the compounds close by,
3. Then the hinterland of Jāsim, then the wadis
Of al-Ṣuffar, where herds of horses and fine white thoroughbreds
feed?
4. That was the abode of him whose tent is raised on lofty poles,
The one dear unto me beyond the measure of his friendship and
favour.
5. Their mother was bereaved, and was bereaved of them
On the day they stopped to camp at Ḥārith al-Jawlān
6. Easter approached, so the young girls
Sat to arrange garlands of coral,
7. Gathering saffron in finely perforated cloths,
Wearing saffron-dyed gowns of linen,
8. And not busying themselves with resin, nor with gum,
Nor with the seeds of the colocynth.
9. That was a home of the Āl Jafna when calamity struck.
As the vicissitudes of the ages claimed their due.
10. I did indeed consider that there I behaved as a resolute man should,
When the place where I sat and stayed was in the presence of the
wearer of the crown.⁶⁰

This version, or verses from it, is given in most of the sources with only minor variations. Abū l-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī (d. 356/967), however, transmits the poem with so many important differences that it must be considered a distinct recension of the poem:

60. Ḥassān ibn Thābit, *Dīwān*, I, 255 no. 123.

VERSION II

- ١ قَدْ عَفَا جَاسِمٌ إِلَى بَيْتِ رَاسٍ فَالْجَوَابِي فَجَانِبِ الْجَوْلَانِ
 ٢ فَحِمَى جَاسِمٍ فَأَبْنِيَةَ الْصُفْرِ مَعْنَى قُنَابِلٍ وَهِيَّانِ
 ٣ فَالْقُرَيَّاتِ مِنْ بِلَاسٍ فَدَارِيَا فَسَكَّاءَ فَالْقُصُورِ الدَّوَانِي
 ٤ قَدْ دَنَا الْفِصْحُ فَالْوَلَادُ يَنْظِمْنَ سِرَاعاً أَكَلَةَ الْمَرْجَانِ
 ٥ يَتَبَارِئْنَ فِي الدُّعَاءِ إِلَى اللَّهِ وَكُلُّ الدُّعَاءِ لِلشَّيْطَانِ
 ٦ ذَاكَ مَعْنَى لِآلِ جَفْنَةَ فِي الدِّيَةِ رِ وَحَقُّ تَصَرُّفِ الْأَزْمَانِ
 ٧ صَلَوَاتُ الْمَسِيحِ فِي ذَلِكَ الدِّيَةِ رِ دُعَاءُ الْقَلِيسِ وَالرُّهْبَانِ
 ٨ قَدْ أَرَانِي هُنَاكَ حَقُّ مَكِينٍ عِنْدَ ذِي التَّاجِ مَقْعَدِي وَمَكَانِي

1. Wiped out are those who lived from Jāsim to Bayt Rās,
Then al-Jawābil, and then the flank of the Golan,
2. Then the preserve of Jāsim, then the buildings
Of al-Ṣuffar, where herds of horses and fine white thoroughbreds
feed,
3. Then al-Qurayyāt down from Balās, then Dārayyā,
Then Sakkā', then the compounds close by.
4. Easter approached, so the young girls
Hastened to arrange garlands of coral,
5. Vying with one another in raising supplication to God —
But each supplication went [instead] to the demon.
6. That was a home of the Āl Jafna in the monastery,
As the vicissitudes of the ages claimed their due.
7. Prayers to Christ in that monastery [were limited]
To the supplications of the priests and the monks.
8. I did indeed consider that there I behaved as a resolute man should,
When the place where I sat and stayed was in the presence of the
wearer of the crown.⁶¹

61. Abū l-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī, *Kitāb al-aghānī*, ed. Naṣr al-Ḥūrīnī (Cairo/Bulāq A.H. 1285) XIII, 170.

In only one case is a verse in one version exactly the same as a verse in the other: this is verse I.2, which reappears as verse II.3. But there are numerous other cases in which the differences are only minor: verses I.3, 6, 9, and 10 are largely identical to verses II.2, 4, 6 and 8. In I.3, for example, the text reads *fa-qafā Jāsim*, 'Then the hinterland of Jāsim', while in II.2 we find *fa-himā Jāsim*, 'Then the preserve of Jāsim'. In the same verse, Version I reads *fa-awdiyati l-Šuffar* 'then the wadis of al-Šuffar', while Version II has *fa-abniyati l-Šuffar*, 'then the buildings of al-Šuffar'. In verse I.6 we find *yanẓimna qu'ūdan*, 'they sat to arrange', for which the otherwise identical verse II.4 has *yanẓimna sirā'an*, 'they hastened to arrange'. In the last line of the two versions there are two different words meaning 'the place where I sit', *majlisī* in verse I.10 and *maq'adī* in verse II.8, in an otherwise identical verse. All of these discrepancies represent the sort of inconsequential variation one often encounters in ancient poetry, and which could arguably have originated with the poet himself.

Several features, however, indicate that version II is unlikely to be any more than a calque on Version I by some poet other than Ḥassān, since these features betray a tendency to recast difficult passages or phrases in Version I which gave a second poet, the author of Version II, reason for pause. In verses I.7-8, Ḥassān refers to the Ghassānid maidens in a metaphor of exceptional complexity and difficulty. What these verses mean is that these maidens are not like ordinary girls of the Arab tribes, who busy themselves by collecting *maghāfir* and *šamgh*, the sweet tasty resin obtained from certain desert shrubs and grasses, or by picking seeds from colocynth, a herbaceous vine the spongy fruit of which was used as a purgative. Rather, they don saffron-coloured gowns and paint themselves with saffron, so that one would think they had been out collecting saffron in cloth bundles which, perforated with small holes, allowed the saffron to sift out and dust them with its colour. The later poet has either not understood or not appreciated the metaphor, or supposed that his audience would not understand or appreciate it; he has therefore dropped it and replaced it with verse II.5, tying it in to verse II.4 with a religious motif.

In verse I.9/II.6 a similar situation obtains. Here Ḥassān speaks

(I.9) of how the Āl Jafna (i.e. the Ghassānids) were at Ḥārith al-Jawlān 'when calamity struck', in the Arabic *fī l-dahr*. The word *dahr* is only rarely used in the sense of 'calamity' or 'misfortune', and more commonly means 'a long time', 'fate', or 'destiny'. Here again the second poet has stumbled: confused or displeased with *fī l-dahr*, he substitutes *fī l-dayr* (II.6), 'in the monastery', and adds verse II.7, an entirely new creation of his own aiming to make sense of the sudden introduction of a monastery in the previous line.

While these changes demonstrate that Version II is a recasting of Version I by another poet, this recasting is not without its own value for our purposes here. Verse I.1 refers to places in the Golan/Ḥawrān region, with the exception of Ma'ān, which is located east of the Wādī 'Araba about 120 kilometres northeast of Ayla/al-'Aqaba, in what is now southern Jordan — i.e. nearly 300 kilometres south of the closest other place named in these verses. There are a few comments in the sources which suggest a Ghassānid connection with Ma'ān,⁶² but this site is so geographically remote from the setting of the rest of the poem that its presence in the piece would quite naturally raise suspicions that it did not belong there. Noticing this apparent anomaly, the second poet has rewritten the verse (II.1) to include sites in the Golan area, linking them with the places named in later verses by including Jāsim, which thus appears twice. From this it appears that the second poet knew something of central Syrian toponomy, and may well have hailed from this area.

To the argument that a poet would not need to be a native of central Syria in order to know the places named in verse II.1, one may counter with the observation that there are other similarly suggestive passages in Version II. In the interpolated verse II.5 we read that the Ghassānid maidens vied with one another in raising supplications to God, but their supplications went instead *li-l-shayṭān*, 'to al-shayṭān'. The word *al-shayṭān* is the Arabic term for Satan, but it was also widely used for a 'demon' or 'spirit being';

62. See, for example, Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī (wr. 350/961), *Ta'rikh sinī mulūk al-arḍ wa-l-anbiyā'*, Part X ed. J.M.E. Gottwaldt (Leipzig 1844) 117.

to say *al-shayāṭīn* (pl.) was often the same as saying *al-jinn*. Here the poet hits upon a clever *double entendre*: *al-shayṭān* seems to be evoked in the sense of 'Satan', i.e. in opposition to 'God', mentioned in the first hemistich of the line; but in fact it names the forces responsible for the calamity which has afflicted the region. That is, the second poet knows, or presumes, that the calamity in question was an outbreak of epidemic disease and so blames it on the forces universally regarded by the Arab tribes as those responsible for such disasters — the *jinn* or *shayāṭīn*. Version I contains no explicit reference to epidemic disease,⁶³ and so far as one can tell now, authorities other than Ḥassān said nothing about outbreaks of plague or other disease in this specific area in pre-Islamic times. References to disease caused by spirits are not so common in ancient Arabic poetry as to be dismissed as topological, and the fact that the composer of Version II refers to a calamity caused by a *shayṭān* thus immediately suggests that Ḥassān originally had the plague in mind; and it further raises the possibility that a very early poet is involved, one who recalled or knew what Ḥassān had meant when he referred to a calamity in verse 1.9.

Finally, it may be noted that while the interpolation of a monastery motif in verses II.6-7 springs in the first instance from an emendation of *al-dahr* (1.9) to *al-dayr*, this would not have been the only way, or even the most obvious way, for the second poet to resolve his difficulty with Ḥassān's text at this point. The specific choice of *al-dayr* for his emendation may have been motivated by his recognition of the fact that, as we shall see below, the majority of the sites named in the first lines of Version I were significant ecclesiastical and monastic centres of Monophysite Christianity in central Syria. If this was the case, then the emendation to *al-dayr* lends further credence to the suggestion that the second poet was of local origin, and probably one active either during or shortly after the lifetime of Ḥassān.

63. Ibn 'Asākir in fact offers the impossible suggestion (on the authority of some earlier source, no doubt), that Version I refers to the battle of al-Yarmūk. See his *Al-Ta'rikh al-kabīr* (Amman 1988) IV, 382.

With these three indicators in mind it may be proposed that Version II was a recasting of Version I by a local Syrian Arab poet. It may also be suggested, if more tentatively, that this poet lived in Ḥassān's time or shortly thereafter, when the events and places mentioned by Ḥassān would still have been fresh in local memory. While obviously secondary to Version I, Version II is thus not without independent historical value.

That the poem refers to an outbreak of epidemic disease is, as observed above, suggested in verse II.5, and in any case is the most likely explanation for the widespread devastation it describes. The plague is again the most probable culprit, though conclusive evidence for this is lacking. While there is no way of knowing whether or not this poem refers to the same outbreak as that in the Ḥawrān described in the previous poem by Ḥassān, it can be assigned to the same general period. As before, the year 590 may be taken as a rough estimate for the beginning of Ḥassān's career, and thus also as an approximate *terminus post quem* for this poem. At the other end of the range, it is clear from verse I.10 (= II.8) that Ḥassān was with the Ghassānid prince at the time of the epidemic. In view of the fact that Ḥassān cast his lot with the Muslims in Medina shortly after the *hijra* in 622, it obviously must have been some time previous to this that found him in central Syria writing odes for the Ghassānids. And as this poem deploys some of the same stylistic features and rhetorical techniques as the first poem already discussed above, it may have been written in the same general period of Ḥassān's career, and perhaps (though one can only guess at this) with reference to the same epidemic. A *terminus ante quem* of 610 thus again seems approximately correct, though a date as late as *ca.* 620 cannot be disallowed.

The second poem confirms serious problems with epidemic disease in the same period as the first poem discussed above, but in areas slightly to the north. From verse I.1 it would seem that the entire area east of Lake Tiberias was affected; al-Khammān is the rhyme word at the end of the line, and so cannot be taken as indicating the eastern limit of the epidemic. In verses 2-3 towns and villages are named in a generally southward direction, as if the epidemic were spreading into the area from Damascus. That

the progression could be a matter of mere coincidence is a possibility not to be dismissed, especially where poetry is concerned; but on the other hand, it must also be conceded that an observer in the area could easily notice how the outbreak was spreading, and that transmission of infection from a stricken urban centre to the villages of its agrarian hinterland is typical of many epidemic diseases, especially plague.

The places named by Ḥassān in this poem merit some detailed attention. The first locality mentioned in verse I.2 is al-Qurayyāt. While there is now no site bearing precisely this name in the Golan or Ḥawrān regions, there are two villages with the name al-Qurayya, the feminine singular form for which al-Qurayyāt is the plural. The *Diwān* of Ḥassān mentions the place only this once, and the plural form may have been used for metrical considerations, just as al-Jawābī is often used by early Arab poets to refer to al-Jābiya. But it is also possible that al-Qurayyāt was the form actually used in pre-Islamic and early Islamic times. Such shifts are commonly found in the toponymy of the area: e.g. ancient Edrei shifted to the feminine plural form Adhri'āt in medieval usage, then back to the singular Dar'a in modern times. The ancient Canatha is now known as Qanawāt, another feminine plural.

One village of al-Qurayya, 21 kilometres southeast of Buṣrā, has disappeared. Dussaud visited it in 1901 and described it as already in ruins.⁶⁴ Since then, it has been mentioned by no other explorer or visitor, and the place is not marked on modern maps of the area.

The site which is more likely to be identified with Ḥassān's al-Qurayyāt is the second village of al-Qurayya, nine kilometres northeast of Buṣrā. This al-Qurayya was a Nabataean settlement⁶⁵ and became an important town of considerable size in Roman times. The ruins contain monuments, numerous public buildings, and hundreds of ancient houses; inscriptions attest to

64. Dussaud, *Mission*, 32; *idem*, *Topographie*, 365.

65. In his *Five years in Damascus* (London 1855) II, 194-198, J.L. Porter sought to prove that al-Qurayya is the Keriath mentioned in Jeremiah 43:23-24 and Amos 2:2, but this argument has not been accepted.

activity from the second to the sixth century A.D.⁶⁶ The town was also an important ecclesiastical centre and a base used by the Ghassānids.⁶⁷ Nothing is known about it for many centuries after the Arab conquests, but in the sixteenth century Ottoman records mention it as a *qarya*, or 'village', of 101 households.⁶⁸

Ḥassān then lists three villages in the Ghūṭa, the agricultural hinterland south of Damascus. The first of these is Balās, a village six kilometres south of the Syrian capital. Ḥassān mentions this place nowhere else in his extant poetry, and while the medieval geographers give its location, they assign it no importance and include it in their works primarily because it figures in this well-known poem.⁶⁹ Dussaud used the village as a base for his explorations in parts of the Ḥawrān in the late nineteenth century and described it as an ancient settlement.⁷⁰ Zakariyā suggests that it was a Ghassānid centre,⁷¹ but little actually seems to be known about the pre-Islamic history of the place.

Balās was reportedly taken by force during the Arab conquest of Syria,⁷² and was settled by Arab immigrants of the Qays tribe. In periods of civil unrest in both Umayyad and 'Abbāsīd times, this brought it into conflict with other villages dominated by the rival Kalb tribal grouping, resulting in considerable destruction

66. See John Lewis Burckhardt, *Travels in Syria and the Holy Land* (London 1822) 103; Porter, *Five Years in Damascus*, II, 189-198; Wetzstein, *Reisebericht*, 121; W.H. Waddington, *Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie* (Paris 1870) nos. 1962-1968; Charles Clermont-Ganneau, *Recueil d'archéologie orientale* (Paris 1888-1924) I, 14-15; Georg Rindfleisch, 'Die Landschaft Ḥaurān in römischer Zeit und in der Gegenwart', *ZDPV* 21 (1898) 13, 27; Dussaud, *Topographie*, 365; Brünnow and von Domaszewski, *Die Provincia Arabia*, III, 267, 313, 331, 338, 342, 353; H.C. Butler *et al.*, *Publications of the Princeton University Archaeological Expeditions to Syria in 1904-05 and 1909* (Leiden 1911-1943) I, 19-20, 40; IIIA, 299.

67. See Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī, *Ta'rikh*, 116; also Wetzstein, *Reisebericht*, 121; Nöldeke, 'Ghassānischen Fürsten', 50; Dussaud, *Topographie*, 365.

68. Hütteroth and Abdulfattah, *Historical Geography*, 219.

69. See al-Bakrī, *Mu'jam mā 'sta'jam*, I, 271; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān*, I, 708; Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, 237, 416. Cf. also the scholia in Ḥassān ibn Thābit, *Diwān*, II, 193.

70. Dussaud, *Mission*, 12, *idem*, *Topographie*, 296.

71. Aḥmad Waṣfī Zakariyā, *Al-Rif al-sūrī* (Damascus 1374-1376/1955-1957) I, 373-374.

72. Al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ al-buldān*, ed. M.J. de Goeje (Leiden 1866) 120.

in the village.⁷³ Balās did maintain a limited reputation for its glass and porcelain products, however,⁷⁴ and in 548/1154 the geographer al-Idrīsī cited it as an example of an agricultural settlement grown almost to the size of a town.⁷⁵

Balās appears to have been overshadowed by the larger and more important Dārayyā, only a few kilometres to the west. The latter was well-known to the medieval Arab geographers and travellers,⁷⁶ and it still exists today, eight kilometres southwest of Damascus. It was a Ghassānid residence, and its Monastery of St. Elias made it an important centre of Monophysite Christianity in pre-Islamic times.⁷⁷

Dārayyā was allegedly occupied by force of arms during the Arab conquest, but continued to thrive under Islamic rule. Bilāl, the muezzin of the Prophet, is said to have settled and died there.⁷⁸ It was one of the most important of the villages dominated by the Yemenite Arab clans, and as such was pillaged and devastated on several occasions of civil strife during the early Islamic period and also suffered in later times.⁷⁹ Despite these

73. See Zakariyā, *Al-Rif al-sūrī*, II, 131; Muḥammad Kurd 'Alī, *Ghūṭat Dimashq* (Damascus 1368/1949) 24, 125, 186.

74. Kurd 'Alī, *Ghūṭat Dimashq*, 165.

75. Al-Idrīsī, *Nuzhat al-mushtāq fī ikhtirāq al-afāq*, ed. E. Cerulli et al. Naples 1970-1984) 366.

76. See al-Muqaddasī (wr. ca. 375/985), *Aḥsan al-taqāsīm fī ma'rifat al-aqālīm*, ed. M.J. de Goeje (Leiden 1877) 156; al-Bakrī, *Mu'jam mā 'sta'jam*, II, 539; Ibn Jubayr (d. 614/1217), *Rihla*, ed. William Wright, 2nd ed. by M.J. de Goeje (Leiden 1907) 302; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān*, II, 536-537; Abū l-Fidā' (d. 732/1331), *Taqwīm al-buldān*, ed. J.T. Reinaud and William MacGuckin de Slane (Paris 1840) 271. Cf. also Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, 39, 237, 419, 436.

77. See Theodor Nöldeke, 'Zur Topographie und Geschichte des damascenischen Gebiets und der Haurāngegend', *ZDMG* 29 (1875) 425; Clermont-Ganneau, *Recueil*, V, 30; J.-B. Chabot, ed., *Documenta ad origines monophysitarum illustrandas* (Paris 1908; CSCO 17, Scr. syri 17) 220, 221, 221-222; = Th.J. Lamy, ed. and trans., 'Profession de foi adressée par les abbés des couvents de la province d'Arabie à Jacques Baradée', in *Actes du Onzième Congrès International des Orientalistes*, IV (Paris 1898) 117-137, nos. 86-87, 91, 102-106, 110-112; Ḥabīb Zayyāt, 'Adyār Dimashq wa-birrhā fī l-Islām', *Al-Mashriq* 42 (1948) 331-332; Kurd 'Alī, *Ghūṭat Dimashq*, 239.

78. Ibn 'Asākir, *Ta'rikh madīnat Dimashq*, I, 198-199.

79. See Kurd 'Alī, *Ghūṭat Dimashq*, 185-186; Zakariyā, *Al-Rif al-sūrī*, II, 131-152; Thierry Bianquis, *Damas et la Syrie sous la domination fatimide (359-468/969-1076)* (Damascus 1986) I, 14, 102 n. 1; II, 457, 668.

setbacks and its proximity to Damascus, medieval Dārayyā established itself as a centre of both viniculture and intellectual achievement.⁸⁰ Such great poets as al-Buḥturī (d. 284/897)⁸¹ and al-Ṣanawbarī (334/945)⁸² sang of the merits of Dārayyā, and its scholars of *ḥadīth* were the subject of a special biographical dictionary composed in the fourth/tenth century.⁸³ The town also contained a number of tombs visited by the pious.⁸⁴ Al-Idrīsī included Dārayyā among the Ghūṭa agricultural settlements that had grown almost to the size of towns,⁸⁵ but only four years later the place, which was often used as an encampment site during the Crusades, was sacked and burned by the Franks.⁸⁶

In modern times Dārayyā has remained an important urban centre in the southern environs of the Syrian capital, with a population of close to 20,000.⁸⁷ The ruins of the Monastery of St. Elias remained extant into the early twentieth century, when parts of it were removed to erect other buildings.⁸⁸

The third Ghūṭa village named by Ḥassān, Sakkā', is also a place he names nowhere else in his verse, and this is another village to which the geographers assign a general location, but no importance.⁸⁹ The village lies sixteen kilometres southeast of

80. See Ibn 'Asākir, *Ta'rikh madīnat Dimashq*, I, 318; also Dussaud, *Topographie*, 297; Kurd 'Alī, *Ghūṭat Dimashq*, 88, 138-139, 144.

81. Al-Buḥturī, *Dīwān*, ed. Ḥasan Kāmil al-Ṣayrafī (Cairo 1963-1978) II, 709.

82. Al-Ṣanawbarī, *Dīwān*, ed. Iḥsān 'Abbās (Beirut 1970) 289, 514.

83. 'Abd al-Jabbār al-Khawḥānī (d. ca. 365/975), *Ta'rikh Dārayyā*, ed. Sa'īd al-Afghānī (Damascus 1395/1975). On this author and his work, see Fuat Sezgin, *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums*, I (Leiden 1967) 348.

84. Al-Harawī (d. 611/1215), *Al-Ishārāt ilā ma'rifat al-ziyārāt*, ed. Janine Sourdell-Thomine (Damascus 1953) 13.

85. Al-Idrīsī, *Nuzhat al-mushtāq*, 366.

86. Ibn al-Qalānisi (d. 555/1160), *Dhayl ta'rikh Dimashq*, ed. H.F. Amedroz (Leiden 1908) 270, 271, 272, 314, 315, 351.

87. See Eugen Wirth, *Syrien. Eine geographische Landeskunde* (Darmstadt 1971) 407.

88. See Burckhardt, *Travels in Syria*, 53, 311-312; Porter, *Five Years in Damascus*, I, 28, 321; Zayyāt, 'Adyār Dimashq', 332.

89. See al-Bakrī, *Mu'jam mā 'sta'jam*, III, 744; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān*, III, 105. Cf. Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, 528; also the scholia in Ḥassān ibn Thābit, *Dīwān*, II, 193. Sakkā' is perhaps the same site mentioned elsewhere by Yāqūt (III, 410) as Ṣakkā'.

Damascus, near the larger and more important village of Ghassūla, and is generally considered part of the Ghūṭa.

Greek inscriptions at Sakkā' indicate that it was a significant settlement by the third century A.D.⁹⁰ The Ghassānids used it as one of their ephemeral base camps, and the village's Monastery of St. Paul made it an important centre of Monophysite Christianity.⁹¹ In Islamic times, Sakkā' (later known as Qaṣr Sakkā') played a minor rôle in several important events, particularly the Sufyānī rebellions of the second/eighth century.⁹² Kurd 'Alī mentions that Sakkā' eventually fell completely into oblivion,⁹³ but this is incorrect. It was from Sakkā' that Wetzstein, the Prussian consul in Damascus, set out on his explorations of the Hawrān in 1858,⁹⁴ and in the 1950s it was a village of 150 inhabitants.⁹⁵

In addition to the three Ghūṭa villages, Ḥassān refers to 'the compounds close by', in the Arabic *al-quṣūr al-dawānī*. The term *qaṣr*, pl. *quṣūr*, is usually rendered in English as 'castle', 'palace', or 'fortress', but as I have argued elsewhere, in pre-Islamic and early Islamic times the term more accurately refers to a residential compound. These usually consisted of a series of connected rooms surrounding and opening onto an internal courtyard, to which access was gained through a single gate.⁹⁶ Such *quṣūr* were ubiquitous in the agrarian countryside of Arabia and rural Syria,⁹⁷ and in his poem Ḥassān evokes an entirely accurate image of the Ghūṭa — a land dotted with villages and private

90. Waddington, *IGLS*, nos. 2562a (222 A.D.), 2562b (250 A.D.).

91. Nöldeke, 'Zur Topographie und Geschichte', 425; Dussaud, *Topographie*, 311; Zayyāt, 'Adyār Dimashq', *Al-Mashriq* 43 (1949) 84-85; Zakariyā, *Al-Rif al-sūrī*, I, 383-374.

92. Kurd 'Alī, *Ghūṭat Dimashq*, 24; Zakariyā, *Al-Rif al-sūrī*, I, 374. Cf. Kamāl S. Salibi, *Syria under Islam, I: Empire on Trial* (Delmar, N.Y. 1977) 39-40.

93. *Ghūṭat Dimashq*, 24.

94. See Wetzstein, *Reisebericht*, 3.

95. Zakariyā, *Al-Rif al-sūrī*, I, 373.

96. Lawrence I. Conrad, 'The *Quṣūr* of Medieval Islam: Some Implications for the Social History of the Near East', *Al-Abḥāth* 29 (1981) 13-20.

97. See H. St. John Philby, *Arabian Highlands* (Ithaca 1952) 318, estimating that in 1936 there were about 750 such *quṣūr* in Wādī Najrān.

residential compounds. It was here that the epidemic struck first as it spread from Damascus.

In the third verse of the poem Ḥassān mentions two further places stricken by the epidemic, the first of them being Jāsim, a site mentioned several other times in the verse attributed to Ḥassān.⁹⁸ In this verse it is the 'hinterland of Jāsim' (*qafā Jāsim*) which is affected, while in verse II.2 it is the 'preserve of Jāsim' (*ḥimā Jāsim*) which is specified. As mentioned above, this represents a case where terms are used loosely in poetry, and for present purposes one can only draw the general conclusion that the village and the area around it were affected.

Most earlier observers place Jāsim rather generally in the Golan-Hawrān region,⁹⁹ but al-Mas'ūdī locates it near al-Jābiya and Nawā.¹⁰⁰ Yāqūt is most specific, placing it eight *farsakhs* from Damascus on the right side of the great highway to Ṭabariya (Tiberias). This is undoubtedly the ancient Gasimea, today the village of Jāsim, 70 kilometres southwest of Damascus and only seven kilometres northeast of the site of al-Jābiya.

The ancient settlement was a town of considerable size with houses and other buildings constructed of the local black basalt. Greek inscriptions attest to the importance of Jāsim by the fourth century A.D., when it seems to have served as a military post to assure the security of trade and cultivation in the area.¹⁰¹ It was also an important centre of Monophysite Christianity, as is attested by the activity of its local clergy and its Monastery of Sabinianus.¹⁰² Arab tribal settlement at Jāsim may have begun

98. *Dīwān*, I, 74 v. 2, 255 v. 3, 485 v. 11.

99. Al-Jāhīz, *Ḥayawān*, V, 134; al-Ya'qūbī, *Kitāb al-buldān*, 327; Ibn Khurradādhbih (d. ca. 300/911), *Kitāb al-masālik wa-l-mamālik*, ed. M.J. de Goeje (Leiden 1889) 78; al-Bakrī, *Mu'jam mā 'sta'jam*, II, 357-358. Cf. the note in Ḥassān ibn Thābit, *Dīwān*, II, 74; also Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, 463.

100. *Murūj al-dhahab*, IV, 364-365.

101. See Burckhardt, *Travels in Syria*, 294; Clermont-Ganneau, *Recueil*, I, 4-7; W. Ewing, 'A Journey in the Hauran', *Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement* 1895, 285-286; *idem*, 'Greek and Other Inscriptions Collected in the Hauran', *op. cit.*, 45-46, nos. 8-11; Brünnow and von Domaszewski, *Die Provincia Arabia*, III, 270, 296; Dussaud, *Mission*, 48; *idem*, *Topographie*, 333; Sartre, *Trois études*, 102, 105.

102. Nöldeke, 'Zur Topographie und Geschichte', 429; Chabot, *Documenta*, 213, 215, 216, 224; = Lamy, 'Profession de foi', nos. 2, 23, 31, 35, 36, 128; Sartre, *Trois études*, 186.

very early, as the place figures in some early genealogical reports.¹⁰³

The sources have almost nothing to say about the village in medieval times, which may indicate its relative unimportance. Its only real claim to fame is the fact that it was the birthplace of the renowned philologist and poet Abū Tammām (d. 231/845).¹⁰⁴ In the sixteenth century, Ottoman records describe Jāsim as a *qarya* of 42 households.¹⁰⁵

This same line also mentions 'the wadis of al-Ṣuffar' as having been stricken in the epidemic. There is no other mention of a place by this name in Ḥassān's *Diwān*, and the scholia place it only generally in the vicinity of Damascus.¹⁰⁶ However, in the account which al-Ṭabarī (wr. 303/915) gives of the Arab campaigns in Syria in 13/634-635, al-Ṣuffar and the famous plain of Marj al-Ṣuffar are mentioned interchangeably;¹⁰⁷ centuries later, Yāqūt specifically states that the two toponyms both refer to the plain itself.¹⁰⁸

The location of Marj al-Ṣuffar is the subject of a long controversy, with Western scholars of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries placing the site either east of Damascus or south of it near the modern town of Kiswa.¹⁰⁹ Uncertainty over the issue has prevailed ever since.¹¹⁰

103. E.g. al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashraf*, I, ed. Muḥammad Ḥamīd Allāh (Cairo 1959) 7.

104. See Ibn Khallikān (d. 681/1282), *Wafayāt al-a'yān*, ed. Iḥsān 'Abbās (Beirut 1968-1972) II, 11, 17; III, 184-185.

105. Hütteroth and Abdulfattāh, *Historical Geography*, 207.

106. Ḥassān ibn Thābit, *Diwān*, II, 74, 193.

107. Al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh al-rusul wa-l-mulūk*, ed. Muḥammad Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, 2nd ed. (Cairo 1968-1969) III, 391, 404, 405, 406, 408, 410, 436, 438.

108. *Mu'jam al-buldān*, III, 400.

109. See, e.g., Wetzstein, *Reisebericht*; 118-119; Nöldeke, 'Zur Topographie und Geschichte', 425-426; *idem*, 'Ghassānischen Fürsten', 45; M.J. de Goeje, *Mémoire sur la conquête de la Syrie*, 2nd ed. (Leiden 1900) 48-49; Dussaud, *Mission*, 45 n. 2; *idem*, *Topographie*, 306, 318; Leone Caetani, *Annali dell'Islam* (Milan 1905-1926) III, 317-320.

110. E.g. Henri Lammens, 'L'avènement des Marwānides et le califat de Marwān I^{er}', *MUSJ* 12 (1927) 79-80, 101-103; Fred McGraw Donner, *The Early Islamic Conquests* (Princeton 1981) 315 n. 197; Gernot Rotter, *Die Umayyaden und der Zweite Bürgerkrieg* (Wiesbaden 1982) 148 n. 249.

As the historical and topographical evidence is now far better known and understood, no need for doubt any longer exists. There is no al-Ṣuffar/Marj al-Ṣuffar east of Damascus, and the only evidence for a place by this name there in the past consists of a few anomalous verses of poetry confusing it with Marj Rāhiṭ,¹¹¹ and a prose report by Sayf ibn 'Umar (d. 180/796), an early Iraqi authority whose narratives on the conquests must be used with great caution.¹¹² But most medieval authorities knew exactly where Marj al-Ṣuffar was. A verse in Ḥassān's *Diwān* places Marj al-Ṣuffarīn near Jāsim.¹¹³ Al-Harawī knew the place and the tombs of saints buried there.¹¹⁴ Ibn al-Athīr precisely places Marj al-Ṣuffar at a village called Saqḥabā (modern Shaqḥabā) near Damascus.¹¹⁵ Yāqūt mentions the place several times, stating that it is near al-Jābiya,¹¹⁶ that it is in the Ḥawrān,¹¹⁷ and that it lies between Damascus and the Golan.¹¹⁸ The fact that in this last statement he confuses it with Marj Rāhiṭ in saying that 'in it there took place a famous battle in the days of the Marwānids' does not detract from the accuracy or clarity of the topographical details.

A decisive but so far unnoticed argument on the location of Marj al-Ṣuffar was advanced some years ago by Aḥmad Waṣfī Zakariyā. Marj al-Ṣuffar, he says, is the plain between Khān Danūn and the village of Shaqḥabā on the western side of the modern highway. The area is now called Al-Ard al-ḥamrā', 'the red land', and the old name is completely unknown both to local villagers

111. E.g. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān*, IV, 488.

112. Al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, III, 410. On Sayf, see A.A. Duri, *The Rise of Historical Writing Among the Arabs*, ed. and trans. Lawrence I. Conrad (Princeton 1983) 46-47, and the earlier literature cited therein; also Ella Landau-Tasseron, 'Sayf ibn 'Umar in Medieval and Modern Scholarship', *Der Islam* 67 (1990) 1-26.

113. *Diwān*, I, 74 v. 2; cf. also Ibn 'Asākir, *Ta'rikh madīnat Dimashq*, I, 513. This would seem to dispose of the theory that a Marj al-Ṣuffarīn was located east of Damascus. See Nöldeke, 'Zur Topographie und Geschichte', 425; Caetani, *Annali dell'Islam*, II.2, 1209.

114. Al-Harawī, *Ishārāt*, 12.

115. Ibn al-Athīr, *Al-Kāmil fī l-ta'rikh*, X, 639.

116. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān*, II, 3.

117. *Ibid.*, II, 183.

118. *Ibid.*, III, 400. Cf. also Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, 504.

and Damascenes who own land there. Pointing out that the historical sources make it clear that Marj al-Šuffar was a place of great strategic importance in repeated contests for control of Damascus, he argues that only the modern Al-Ard al-ḥamrā' could have had such strategic significance. Its numerous springs and rich pastures were essential to a medieval army using large numbers of animals for transportation and as cavalry mounts, and a force encamped there effectively controlled the Syrian capital's important southern approaches, where military confrontations are known frequently to have occurred.¹¹⁹

This would seem to settle the matter, and if there remains any doubt it is removed by the fact that in this third verse Ḥassān is himself referring to just such a place, where al-Šuffar's seasonal river beds are the habitation of grazing herds of horses, the Arabic *maghnā* here meaning a place where the animals will find everything they need — i.e. plentiful water and grazing land. Just as the second verse evokes the image of villages and compounds spread across the countryside, the third verse moves south and calls forth a picture of pastures and meadows where the tribesmen are grazing their herds. The phrase *awdiyat al-Šuffar*, 'wadis of al-Šuffar', of verse 1.3 becomes *abniyat al-Šuffar*, 'buildings of al-Šuffar', in verse II.2, and this too fits the pastoral image one expects where this fertile plain is mentioned. In a rural tribal context, *abniya/bunyān* are often not proper 'buildings', but rather makeshift sheds which a group intending to camp at a place with abundant water and pasture would erect for various purposes.¹²⁰

As observed above, the poet responsible for Version II of this poem has rewritten the first verse and has thus introduced new place names. As this recasting suggests that it is to some extent based on independent knowledge of the epidemic in question, these new place names may well be sites which the second poet knew had been affected.

The first of these places is Bayt Rās, the ancient Capitolas,

119. Zakariyā, *Al-Rif al-sūrī*, II, 458-462. Cf. also now the detailed article by Nikita Elisséeff in *EP*, VI (Leiden 1991) 546a-548b.

120. See, for example, Ibn A'tham al-Kūfī, *Kitāb al-futūḥ*, II, 439.

located five kilometres north of the modern town of Irbid on the Roman road from Dar'a (ancient Edrei, medieval Adhri'āt) to Umm Qays (Gadara). The site lies spread around a high promontory, the loftiest point north of the 'Ajlūn mountain range, and may well have been founded with this strategic consideration in mind. Though inscriptions attest to prior Nabataean occupation at the site, Capitolas was essentially a foundation *de novo*; it was a member of the Decapolis, was declared a *polis* in 97-98 A.D., and in the second and third centuries minted its own coins. With the spread of Christianity it became the seat of a bishopric, and its representatives were numbered among the Palestinian fathers at the Council of Nicaea in 325 and the Council of Chalcedon in 451.¹²¹

Bayt Rās is mentioned several times in the verse attributed to Ḥassān ibn Thābit,¹²² and the scholia refer to it simply as a *qarya* in al-Urdunn.¹²³ During the Arab conquest it is said to have surrendered on terms,¹²⁴ and excavations at the site indicate that the town suffered no damage at this time and continued to prosper.¹²⁵ The medieval geographers speak of the fortress (*ḥiṣn*) at Bayt Rās, and describe the place as a town famous for its wine.¹²⁶ This latter point gained it notice not only from Ḥassān

121. See Selah Merrill, *East of the Jordan* (New York 1881) 296-298; Gottlieb Schumacher, *Northern 'Ajlūn* (London 1890) 154-168; Janine Sourdel-Thomine, art. 'Bayt Rās' in *EP*, I (Leiden 1960) 1148a-b; Mittmann, *Beiträge*, 133-134, 169-173; Sartre, *Trois études*, 70; Glenn W. Bowersock, *Roman Arabia* (Cambridge, Mass. 1983) 91; Cherie J. Lenzen and E. Axel Knauf, 'Beit Ras/Capitolas: a Preliminary Evaluation of the Archaeological and Textual Evidence', *Syria* 64 (1987) 24; Ali Zeyadeh, *An Archaeological Assessment of Six Cities in al-Urdunn: From the Fourth Century to the Mid-Eighth Century A.D.* (M.A. thesis, Yarmouk University, 1988) 159-167; Cherie J. Lenzen, 'Irbid and Beit Ras: Interconnected Settlements c. A.D. 100-900', in *Studies in the History and Archaeology of Jordan*, IV (Amman 1992) 299-301. Cf. also Caetani, *Annali dell'Islam*, III, 498 n. 5; Steuernagel, *Namēnīste*, 30.

122. Ḥassān ibn Thābit, *Diwān*, I, 17 v. 6, 106 v. 8, 518 v. 1.

123. *Ibid.*, II, 6, 103.

124. Al Balādhuri, *Futūḥ al-buldān*, 116. Cf. Caetani, *Annali dell'Islam*, III, 496.

125. Lenzen and Knauf, 'Beit Ras/Capitolas', 39; Zeyadeh, *Archaeological Assessment*, 166-167.

126. Ibn Khurradādhbih, *Al-Masālik wa-l-mamālik*, 78; al Bakri, *Mu'jam mā'sta'jam*, I, 288-289; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān*, I, 201, 776-777. Cf. Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, 32, 415.

ibn Thābit, but also from such other noted poets as al-Nābigha al-Dhubaynī (d. ca. 602) and Abū Nuwās (d. 199/814).¹²⁷ In Umayyad times Bayt Rās was one of the administrative centres of the so-called 'Triple District', with large populations of both Muslims and Christians. Several eminent Umayyads maintained residences there, and it was the place where a certain Christian named Peter was martyred in 715.¹²⁸

The town was known as Betaras or Petaras to the Crusaders, and it was the period of their occupation that seems to have marked the decline of the town to the status of a mere village.¹²⁹ Only 40 households remained in the sixteenth century,¹³⁰ but occupation never ceased at Bayt Rās, and it continues to be a small village to this day.

The other new site introduced by the reviser of Ḥassān's poem is al-Jawābī, a plural form introduced for metrical considerations in place of the singular al-Jābiya. This is of course the famous Ghassānid camp-settlement and bivouac, located 72 kilometres southwest of Damascus, and within three kilometres northwest of the village of Nawā. As its name indicates, it probably originated as a watering place for the herds of Arab tribes taking advantage of the plentiful springs and pastures of the region.¹³¹ The nearby hill, called Tall al-Jābiya, rises to more than 700 metres above sea level and offers a commanding view in all directions, and

127. See al-Nābigha al-Dhubaynī, *Diwān*, ed. Shukrī Fayṣal (Beirut 1968), 160 v. 10; Abū Nuwās, *Diwān*, II, ed. Ewald Wagner (Wiesbaden 1972) 22 v. 3.

128. Paul Peeters, 'La passion de S. Peter de Capitolias', *AB* 57 (1939), 299-333; Schick, *Christian Communities of Palestine*, 260-261.

129. Mittmann, *Beiträge*, 250; Lenzen and Knauf, 'Beit Ras/Capitolias', 42.

130. Hütteroth and Abdulfattah, *Historical Geography*, 203.

131. A *jābiya* was a broad shallow hole which a herdsman would scoop out in the ground, and then fill with water from a spring or well to water his animals. See Sūrat Saba' (34), v. 13: 'and bowls like *jawābī*'. The bedouins of Syria continued to use such *jawābī* into modern times. Alois Musil refers to them in his *Manners and Customs of the Rwala Bedouins* (New York 1928), 340, and this writer found them to be still called by this name by tribesmen east of Ḥamāh in northern Syria in 1973.

this would have made the place, like other such sites, one of strategic significance.¹³²

Al-Jābiya was the principal residence of the Ghassānids, and its Monastery of St. Sergius was an active Monophysite centre at least into the late sixth century.¹³³ Ḥassān refers to al-Jābiya several times in his verse,¹³⁴ and the scholia refer to it as a village in the Golan.¹³⁵ During the Arab conquest of Syria, its vast capacity for watering and feeding animals seems to have made it a bone of contention between Byzantine and Arab forces,¹³⁶ just as Marj al-Ṣuffar's similar rôle lent it strategic importance to medieval military movements. Al-Jābiya continued to be a major tribal bivouac, and was the site of several important seventh-century gatherings convened by the early caliphs.¹³⁷ It was not a major urban centre, however, and in later times it seems never to have been more than a minor village. The geographers note its historical importance, but assign it no current significance.¹³⁸ In the sixteenth century it was only a tiny village of five households which produced wheat, barley, and various summer crops; its people also raised goats, kept bees, and had a small mill (*tāhūn*).¹³⁹

132. For accounts of the site, see Schumacher, *Across the Jordan*, 230; Dussaud, *Mission*, 42-48; *idem*, *Topographie*, 332-333. Cf. also Steuernagel, *Namenliste*, 144. Al-Jābiya is now difficult of access because of its proximity to the current Syrian-Israeli ceasefire lines.

133. Chabot, *Documenta*, 215; = Lamy, 'Profession de foi', no. 24; al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj al-dhahab*, II, 234; Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī, *Ta'rikh*, 120. Cf. Sartre, *Trois études*, 179.

134. Ḥassān ibn Thābit, *Diwān*, I, 40 v. 7, 74 v. 1 (again in the plural form, *al-jawābī*), 109 v. 3.

135. *Ibid.*, II, 74.

136. See Walter W. Kaegi, *Byzantium and the Early Islamic Conquests* (Cambridge 1992) 112-120, 138. Kaegi was able to visit the site in July 1984.

137. See Henri Lammens and Janine Sourdell-Thomine, art. 'al-Jābiya' in *EP*, II (Leiden 1965) 360; Ibrāhīm Baydūn, 'Mu'tamar al-Jābiya', in Muhammad 'Adnān al-Bakhtī, ed., *Fourth International Conference on the History of Bilād al-Shām during the Umayyad period: Proceedings of the Third Symposium*, Arabic Section (Amman 1989) 143-190; Schick, *Christian Communities of Palestine*, 315.

138. Ibn Khurradādhbih, *Al-Masālik wa-l-mamālik*, 77; al-Mas'ūdī, *Al-Tanbih wa-l-ishraf*, ed. M.J. de Goeje (Leiden 1894) 308; al-Bakrī, *Mu'jam mā 'sta'jam*, II, 477; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān*, II, 3.

139. Hütteroth and Abdulfattah, *Historical Geography*, 208.

A final toponym, mentioned in verse I.1 of the poem, records the name of the place where the Ghassānid ruling family itself was stricken by the epidemic: Ḥārith al-Jawlān. This site is occasionally mentioned by ancient Arab poets, but almost never in a way which would reveal its location — and here again the problematic use of place names according to the requirements of metre and rhyme arises. Predictably enough, the medieval geographers were at a loss where to place the site. In one entry in his geographical dictionary, for example, Yāqūt states that Ḥārith al-Jawlān is a mountain in the Golan,¹⁴⁰ a verdict seconded by al-Ḥimyarī (d. 900/1494), who describes it as a mountain in the Golan, a region which he understands as comprising the area between Damascus and Tiberias.¹⁴¹ Elsewhere in his compendium, however, Yāqūt identifies the place as a village of the Ḥawrān near Damascus.¹⁴² This sort of confusion, fairly typical of efforts to 'find' Ḥārith al-Jawlān, suggests that the geographers had at their disposal no more than we do — ancient verses in which the place had been ambiguously mentioned.

One key for resolving this puzzle was sought by Nöldeke¹⁴³ and Dussaud¹⁴⁴ in a verse which places Ḥārith al-Jawlān 'between' Jāsim and Tubnā, i.e. southeast of Bayt Rās. In and of itself this is insufficient, since variants of the verse in question place the site 'between' different places, some of these variants being orthographical cruxes from which it is difficult to choose by means which are not simply arbitrary. But other information confirms this as the correct location. Al-Mubarrad (d. 285/896), in commenting upon a poem mentioning Bayt Rās, not Ḥārith al-Jawlān, says that some authorities identify the two places.¹⁴⁵ Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī (wr. 350/961), an authority whose history is based on

140. *Mu'jam al-buldān*, II, 159.

141. Al-Ḥimyarī, *Al-Rawḍ al-mi'ṭār fī khabar al-aqtār*, ed. Iḥsān 'Abbās (Beirut 1975) 183.

142. *Mu'jam al-buldān*, II, 183.

143. 'Zur Topographie und Geschichte', 430-431. Cf. his 'Ghassānischen Fürsten', 40.

144. *Mission*, 48.

145. Al-Mubarrad, *Al-Kāmil fī l-adab wa-l-luḡa*, ed. William Wright (Leipzig 1864-1892) 74.

numerous old and well-informed sources not available in other works, locates Ḥārith al-Jawlān on a site 'overlooking the far end of the Jordan Valley' (*mā ashrafa 'alā al-Ghawr al-aqsā*).¹⁴⁶ From these indications it may be concluded that Ḥārith al-Jawlān was a Golan site in the immediate vicinity of Bayt Rās. As we have already seen above, Bayt Rās was itself stricken in the epidemic mentioned by Ḥassān.

The toponymy offered in the two versions of this poem reveal a few patterns (or non-patterns) relevant to present concerns. First, the places named by Ḥassān and the second poet are not common toponyms which we might regard as part of an Arab poet's standard répertoire; quite a few of them are not used elsewhere by Ḥassān, or are rarely encountered in ancient Arabic poetry at all. And with the exception of the anomalous Ma'ān, all are identifiable sites in the Golan and Ḥawrān region south of Damascus. It would thus seem that while the poets had to choose toponyms which would fit the literary requirements of the verse they were composing, they did not choose places randomly, but rather named sites which the epidemic had actually stricken.

Second, six of the places named were important Christian monastic centres in the area. As argued above, this would suggest, if not prove, that when the second poet revised Ḥassān's work to create Version II of this poem, he introduced a reference to *al-dayr*, 'the monastery', because he recognized that a number of these places were villages where monasteries did in fact exist. Again, it emerges that while the predominantly literary character of these poems must seriously be taken into account, this does not prevent modern research from deriving useful insights from them.

A number of general conclusions may now be proposed. The poem in all likelihood refers to the spread of an outbreak of epidemic disease — probably the plague — in the Golan and Ḥawrān areas sometime between 590 and 610. While the year of the outbreak cannot be known, the season in which the epidemic struck is easily deduced. Verse I.6 (= II.4) specifies that the

146. Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī, *Ta'rikh*, 121.

epidemic struck at the time of Easter, i.e. in the spring, a season when the Near East in the sixth to eighth centuries was frequently devastated by the bubonic plague.¹⁴⁷

While the strict order of places named cannot be taken at face value, the poets responsible for the two versions do organize toponyms in such a way that some sense emerges if one takes the verses themselves as the meaningful groupings. The first sites named are just south of Damascus, which suggests that the epidemic spread from the Syrian capital southward into its immediate agrarian hinterland. Places mentioned in the next verses are scattered further south from the lands east of Lake Tiberias to the fringes of the Syrian Desert, and represent the further transmission of the epidemic along local lines of communication and commerce: as in the first poem, known Roman roads again define the paths along which the infection spread.

Many urban centres known to have been inhabited and significant in the late sixth century are passed over in silence in both versions of the poem, but it must not be supposed that Ḥassān or the reviser of his poem would have named every significant stricken place in their compositions.¹⁴⁸ Poetic restrictions would have made this difficult in any case, and a poem stuffed with toponyms would not have been aesthetically satisfying to either the poet or his audience. The lament for the devastation of the Golan and Ḥawrān is the central message, and this was clearly Ḥassān's primary concern.

It can also be seen how it was that Ḥassān knew so much about the epidemic described in this poem. He explicitly states (I.10, = II.8) that he was 'in the presence of the wearer of the crown', the Ghassānid prince. From verse I.5 it emerges that at this time the prince was in residence at Ḥārith al-Jawlān, which may be placed near Bayt Rās, also devastated by the epidemic.

147. See Conrad, 'The Plague in the Early Medieval Near East', 323-327.

148. Although later variant versions of specific lines of the poem did add new place names. See, for example, Ibn 'Asākir, *Al-Ta'rikh al-kabir*, IV, 382; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān*, I, 332-333, where the name of Aftiq (ancient Apheca, near Lake Tiberias) is introduced.

In this poem, as in the shorter poem discussed earlier, Ḥassān offers revealing allusions on the impact of the epidemic. As Easter approached, the young girls began to dress in their best and put on their jewellery (I.6, = II.4); the reviser adds (II.5) that all the while they were raising their Easter supplications to God, but their prayers were instead received by a demon (or by Satan), who responded with the epidemic. We note again the rôle of spirits in the spreading of the pestilence. At the camp of the princes of Āl Jafna (i.e. the Ghassānids) at Ḥārith al-Jawlān, the mortality among the tribe is compared to the tragedy faced by a woman who loses all of her sons (I.5), again evoking, as discussed above for the first poem, an image of extremely heavy mortality at the local or family level. In verses II.6-7, the reviser offers a similar image, albeit an ambiguous one, since he presumes that his audience already knows the situation he is describing. The poet seems to be saying that the mortality was especially high at a monastery where many people were seeking refuge. Those who had fled to the monastery all perished, and the only prayers being said were the supplications for relief raised by priests and monks who survived. One might well imagine the terrible ravages an epidemic could have wreaked in a monastery crowded with refugees who had fled there in expectation of either divine protection or, more practically, large stores of food. In the Umayyad period situations similar to that alluded to in this poem are described for a monastery at Zūqnīn, where the plague claimed a heavy toll among both resident monks and people who had fled there to escape the pestilence.¹⁴⁹

* * *

From the two poems by Ḥassān ibn Thābit we may conclude that epidemic disease was present through much and perhaps all of the Golan and Ḥawrān region in the late sixth century. The disease responsible was in all probability the bubonic plague, which

149. *Chronicon anonymum pseudo-Dionysianum vulgo dicto*, ed. J.-B. Chabot (Paris 1927-1933; CSCO 91, 104, *Scr. syri* 43, 53), II, 155, 205.

entrenched itself in the area during the plague of Justinian in the early 540s, and the local source of the infection was probably Damascus. Given the frequency with which the plague struck in Syria in general, about once every seven years between 541 and 749,¹⁵⁰ it is also likely that aside from the epidemic (or epidemics) described by Ḥassān, there were other outbreaks in the Golan and Ḥawrān for which no record has survived to modern times.

It is, in fact, in the way the poems by Ḥassān open up such lines of investigation that their primary importance lies. To the picture offered by other evidence they add two major points. First, they confirm the widespread distribution of epidemic disease, almost certainly the plague, in the region south of Damascus in the late sixth century. This had previously been known only from the Greek inscription, mentioned above, recording a single plague death in 542-43 in Zorava. Second, they offer elusive but valuable vignettes on the impact of such epidemics on the towns and villages of the countryside of the Ḥawrān, the Golan, and the former Decapolis.

Informative as Ḥassān's poems may be in other ways, they do not themselves indicate what long-term impact these and other epidemics might have had on the area. My own views have been set forth elsewhere and need not be rehearsed here,¹⁵¹ except to stress once again that the real historical importance of pandemic plague is more to be sought in the longer term than in the consequences of a single outbreak (significant as these latter may be). It is also worth noting that the impact of plague can be quite severe, without leading to the definitive extinction of a town or village. Of the numerous sites mentioned by Ḥassān as places where epidemics struck, most can easily be shown to have survived through the entire 200-year-span of the pandemic. Some were flourishing centres in later medieval times, and in no case is it possible to single out the plague as the main cause for a town or village's ultimate demise. On the other hand, ■ recent survey of

150. See Conrad, 'The Plague in the Early Medieval Near East', 330.

151. Cf. Conrad, 'The Plague in Bilād al-Shām in Pre-Islamic Times', 154-157.

the Wādī al-Yābis region has revealed an area, well within range of the sites named by Ḥassān, which suffered very considerable decline in settled life from late antiquity through early Islamic times, and which may well owe this decline to repeated epidemics of plague.¹⁵²

If a case can be made for a pattern of plague devastation in central and southern Syria in the latter half of the sixth century, then some interesting possibilities emerge for important developments elsewhere. The long-accepted explanation for the rise of Mecca and the subsequent emergence of Islam has been that Mecca organized and controlled trade in lucrative luxury goods between Yemen and Syria; the resulting economic boom in Mecca widened the gap between the rich and the poor in the city, promoted crass materialist tendencies, and resulted in a profound spiritual malaise to which Muḥammad's preaching of Islam was a direct response.¹⁵³ This theory has recently been overthrown in independent studies by Patricia Crone and F.E. Peters, who show that the goods upon which Arabian trade was based were not profit-intensive luxury items — the sorts of commodities upon which fortunes could be made, but rather such everyday local products as skins, leather, raisins, wine, and so forth.¹⁵⁴ Items like this offered such lower returns, in relation to the high transport

152. Jonathan Mabry and Gaetano Palumbo, 'Environmental, Economic and Political Constraints on Ancient Settlement Patterns in the Wadi-al-Yabis Region', in *Studies in the History and Archaeology of Jordan*, IV, 67-72. The researchers who undertook the survey attribute the decline to the Arab conquests, the later removal of the capital to Baghdad, and economic stagnation; but these traditional arguments have been increasingly discredited in recent literature. See, in the same volume, the essays by Alan Walmsley, 'Fihl (Pella) and the Cities of North Jordan during the Umayyad and Abbasid Periods', 377-384; and Donald Whitcomb, 'Reassessing the Archaeology of Jordan of the Abbasid Period', 385-390.

153. The classic formulation of this thesis is W. Montgomery Watt, *Muhammad at Mecca* (Oxford 1953) 1-29.

154. Patricia Crone, *Meccan Trade and the Rise of Islam* (Oxford 1987); F.E. Peters, 'The Commerce of Mecca before Islam', in Farhad Kazemi and R.D. McChesney, eds., *A Way Prepared: Essays on Islamic Culture in Honor of Richard Bayly Winder* (New York 1988) 3-26. But cf. also Valeria Fiorani Piacentini, 'Traffici e mercati di Bosrā nella tradizione islamica', in Raffaella Farioli Campanati, ed., *La Siria araba da Roma a Bisanzio* (Ravenna 1988) 205-224; Ḥsān 'Abbās, 'Al-'Alāqāt al-tijārīya bayna Makka wa-l-Shām ḥattā bidāyat al-fath al-islāmī', *Al-Abḥāth* 38 (1990) 3-40.

costs,¹⁵⁵ that they could not have engendered great wealth in Mecca or anywhere else. They were also items which Syria already produced, and so did not need to import in the first place.

The economic setting of central and southern Syria looks rather different, however, if the area was repeatedly devastated by plague from 541-542 onward. That agricultural production could not enjoy immediate recovery after any one outbreak has already been argued elsewhere,¹⁵⁶ and with multiple outbreaks the disruption could have been quite serious. If this was the case, the plague would have presented Arabian trade with an important opening by creating a market for the ordinary goods Arabia could offer, at prices high enough to offset the cost of overland transport. The range of commodities Arabia could offer was of course limited, and recurrent plague in Syria does not revive the old image of Mecca as an international trading and financial centre; but on the other hand, one must recall that Arabia was in an advantageous position — during the plague pandemic of the sixth to eighth centuries it was the only region in the Near East which remained free from plague infection.¹⁵⁷

The sort of argument set forth here, and elsewhere in this paper, would be opposed by a recent tendency to downplay the importance of the sixth-century plagues. Maurice Sartre has suggested that in the Ḥawrān, especially Buṣrā, the plague may not have

155. Overland transport costs were enormous. In the fourth century, for example, the cost of transporting a 1200 (Roman) pound wagon of wheat amounted to about 55 percent of the value of the wheat per 100 (Roman) miles, and represented an expense 40 times higher than shipment by sea. See Michael F. Hendy, *Studies in the Byzantine Monetary Economy* (Cambridge 1986) 556. Camel transport in the seventh century would have been far cheaper, since camels can carry heavier loads per animal at a faster rate per day, live longer and possess far greater endurance, do not require food beyond what desert herbage provides, can traverse ground where wagons cannot go and do not need to be unloaded at fords, and do not involve expensive harness or the dead weight of a wagon. See Richard W. Bulliet, *The Camel and the Wheel* (Cambridge Mass. 1975) 19-27. Still, it is unlikely that costs were thereby reduced to levels that would have made the overland shipment of Arabian products to Syria feasible in any but extreme circumstances. See Hendy, *Studies*, 557.

156. Conrad, 'The Plague in the Early Medieval Near East', 470-474.

157. See Conrad, 'Ṭā'ūn and Wabā', 284-288; further in *idem*, 'The Plague in the Early Medieval Near East', 347-352, 465-469.

played the seriously disruptive rôle historians have often assigned to it. In view of the fact that extant building inscriptions in Buṣrā are as numerous for the period after the plague of 542 as before, he proposes that, in this town at least, the plague caused little destruction and did not result in a major decline in population.¹⁵⁸ Jean Durliat has pursued this line of argument even further, and has proposed that the impact of the plague in general has been overestimated, both by medieval authors and in modern research. His argument for this is based on the fact that inscriptions, papyri, numismatic patterns, and archaeological excavations reveal either little or no evidence of the disastrous impact of the plague; the testimony of the literary sources, in which such evidence abounds, he dismisses as literary hyperbole, explains away in terms of a tendency for 'shock' to lead authors to present disasters in the blackest possible terms, or views in terms of the emergence and proliferation of descriptive topoi, repeated in one text after another regardless of whether or not they accurately described the course and effects of the epidemic under discussion.¹⁵⁹

A full reply to these arguments would be desirable, not least in order to pursue the sort of dialogue among specialists which Durliat explicitly seeks; but this lies beyond the scope of the present study. Three major objections are of particular relevance to our concerns here, however, and may be raised by way of conclusion.

First, if it is true that literary sources pose certain serious difficulties of interpretation, it is no less true that material remains and documentary sources raise their own sets of problems as to what they mean and how they can (and cannot) be used as dispassionate witnesses from which researchers may extrapolate broad patterns of historical change. For example, before one can assign

158. See Sartre's *Bostra: des origines à l'Islam*, 138-139; also his 'Le peuplement et le développement du Ḥawrān antique à la lumière des inscriptions grecques et latines', in Deazler, ed., *Hauran I*, 1, 197-198, where a more cautious attitude is adopted.

159. Jean Durliat, 'La peste du VI^e siècle; pour un nouvel examen des sources byzantines', in *Hommes et richesses dans l'Empire byzantine, I: IV^e-VI^e siècle* (Paris 1989) 107-119. But see the sharp critique which follows in the same volume by J.-N. Biraben.

some significance to the silence of funerary and other inscriptions on the plagues of the sixth century, it would be necessary to determine whether one should expect them to mention such things in the first place. By way of analogy, one will examine tombstones in modern British cemeteries in vain for evidence to support the proposition that cancer and heart disease have been major health problems over the past few decades, despite the fact that these are currently the two leading causes of death in the United Kingdom. Silence in this case surely reflects attitudes towards memorializing the dead, and in this sense it is significant; but it has nothing whatever to do with the gravity of specific disease problems in modern Britain. Further arguments could be pursued, but would all tend to reinforce this central point: tendencies for various kinds of potential source material generated within a society to mention or ignore disease problems reflect a range of considerations far broader and more complex than the simple question of whether or not a particular disease was serious or important in its effects on that society.

A second objection is that literary evidence for the first plague pandemic includes a very substantial amount of eyewitness testimony, more than Durliat had available to him in Greek or (in the case of John of Ephesus) abbreviated modern translation. One must of course allow for wild exaggerations on the part of authors who described the epidemics, but such excesses are almost always obvious from the start, or are quickly exposed by careful critique. When these are set aside, what remains is a corpus of information which repeatedly offers up similar or compatible patterns of chaos and destruction. As the witnesses responsible for these accounts spoke different languages (and often did not know others), represented different social, cultural, and religious viewpoints, and frequently lived at considerable chronological and geographical removes from one another, it is impossible to put these congruences down to the literary and emotional factors adduced by Durliat. Many examples of such correspondences have been cited above, and in considering the worth of our literary evidence it is essential to bear in mind the widely diverging contexts and backgrounds from which the relevant authors and their descriptions emerged.

A final objection is closely related to this one, and has to do with what one might call normative plague patterns. Before turning to the sixth-century outbreaks one already has a vast body of historical and scientific evidence attesting to what can and often has occurred during plague epidemics, extending from the Black Death of 1348 to the 1950s.¹⁶⁰ A few examples from the modern period may be cited here as particularly illustrative. In March-May 1831, A.N. Groves, a British missionary in Baghdad, witnessed a terrible outbreak of plague which killed 1,000-2,000 persons per day. Military units lost 70-90 percent of their men, and private houses were devastated at similar rates: seven of eight people died in one house, twelve of thirteen in another, and thirteen of fourteen in another. Hundreds of families were snuffed out completely, and in the Armenian quarter of 130 houses, only 27 people survived. At the most general level figures were of course approximate, but both Groves and the British Residency were making efforts, for their own reasons and purposes, to assess the mortality accurately. In many cases their figures must be regarded as quite correct.¹⁶¹ A similar pattern, if on a much smaller scale, can be seen in a plague epidemic in a small village in the Iranian countryside during the winter of 1952-1953. The disease infected every inhabitant of every house it penetrated, entirely destroying several households, and inflicted a mortality rate of 94 percent.¹⁶²

Examples of this kind could be extended indefinitely, but it should already be clear that the descriptions which historians find for sixth-century plagues represent testimony which cannot be explained away as 'literary' excess of one kind or another. Further, they report exactly what an epidemiologist would expect for

160. The huge literature on these plagues may best be approached through three works: Dols, *The Black Death in the Middle East*; Jean-Noël Biraben, *Les hommes et la peste en France et dans les pays européens et méditerranéens* (Paris 1975-1976); Daniel Panzac, *La peste dans l'Empire Ottoman, 1700-1850* (Louvain 1985).

161. Anthony N. Groves, *Journal of a Residence at Baghdad during the Years 1830 and 1831* (London 1832). The author himself perished in the last days of the epidemic; his journal was brought back to England and published posthumously.

162. Marcel Baltazard et al., 'Recherches sur la peste en Iran', *Bulletin of the World Health Organization* 23 (1960) 151-152.

epidemics of plague in situations where modern preventative and therapeutic measures do not play a rôle. It is thus difficult to avoid the conclusion that pandemic plague was indeed an important factor in processes of change in the late antique and early medieval Near East, one more important than has hitherto been appreciated. To the extent that its ravages can be known for the Ḥawrān, Golan, and former Decapolis regions, this will in no small part be due to the poems of Ḥassān ibn Thābit.

The transition from *polis* to *kastron* in the Balkans (III-VII cc.): general and regional perspectives*

ARCHIBALD DUNN

Much of the evidence for the changes which scholars perceive in the Late Roman-to-Early Byzantine periods (the 'Late Antique era') and in the 'Dark Age'-to-Middle Byzantine periods in the eastern empire, that is, changes occurring between the mid third and the eighth-to-ninth centuries, whether this evidence is textual, archaeological, or topographical, concerns in one way or another what might be called the upper levels of the settlement-system. These levels consist of settlements or sites distinguishable at various times from the undefended rural majority (or what in most areas forms the majority) of settlements by status (i.e., civic, that of a *polis*), form, size, situation, or associated functions. They may for present purposes be simply categorised as civic urban settlements, non-civic urban settlements, and non-civic non-urban fortifications or fortified settlements. To study the fate of such places, as settlements and as communities, is to confront the cultural, economic, and internal political history of the period in all its complexity, a task which in most respects is inconceivable without recourse to archaeology and topography. The following observations concern the need to rectify some imbalances in the emphases of research which distort some general analyses of the history of Late Antique and also Middle Byzantine settlements, and so distort our view of cultural, economic, and political change in the periods named.

*A version of this text was presented at the conference 'The historical topography of Epirus and Macedonia in ancient and Byzantine times', held in honour of Professor Nicholas Hammond (Greece, May, 1993).

There are geographical, chronological, thematic, and general methodological imbalances. Firstly, it should now be obvious that, when scholars shift the focus of the study of the changes of the mid third to eighth or ninth centuries (all or part thereof) from the macrocosms of empire and state to the microcosm or microcosms of 'the city' (a term to which we shall inevitably return), material specific to the Balkans, particularly the archaeological and topographical, is not well represented in the discussion (if it is present at all).¹ Constantinople, technically Balkan, is not integrated into the discussion, naturally, because it concerns the provinces of the empire. The discussion in fact is dominated, at both the particularising and generalising levels, by references to research concerning changes in Anatolia, Syria, Palestine, and the Transjordan. Although there are now some useful studies of upper-level settlements, and of upper levels of the settlement-system, in specific areas of the Balkans, covering parts of the third to seventh centuries, their implications have not been grasped and used to counterbalance research which in effect concerns the eastern provinces.² The chronological imbalance of the secondary literature, the second imbalance, will be briefly discussed further on. To try to itemise thematic imbalances would be a pointless counsel of perfection. The one which most concerns us is that the discussion of the 'city' has always been unbalanced, often unwittingly, in favour of the 'civic urban' category, except in the context of the study of the Early Byzantine *limes* (Syro-Palestinian, 'African', and Danubian), where naturally fortifications and their evolution (sometimes

1. It would be invidious to demonstrate this with quantifications of pages and references, but I invite the reader to consider any *general* discussion (article or section of a book) published since the debate about the 'Byzantine city' began in the 1950s.

2. Several of these studies will be cited further on. Here it is worth citing two valuable collective works which ought, by now, to have had some impact: *Villes et peuplement dans l'Illyricum protobyzantin* (École française de Rome 1984) and *Πρακτικά του δεκάτου διεθνούς συνεδρίου χριστιανικής αρχαιολογίας* (Vatican City/Thessaloniki 1984).

urbanising) during Late Antiquity is the focus of attention.³ The consequences of this imbalance interlock with the eastern bias of the debate about 'the fate of the city' to seriously affect its general conclusions.

The general methodological imbalance which is most relevant is the neglect by some historians of the archaeological and topographical evidence, usually tacit, but in a recent instance condoned on the grounds that the changes which define and explain the 'transformation' of the Late Antique 'city' are to be sought in the sphere of politico-administrative relations and in that of the position of the aristocracy within the social relations of the era of transition.⁴ The present critique is meant to show on the contrary that in shifting the focus of research to the microcosm of 'the city' (however defined), and away from changes considered at the levels of the empire or state in general, research enters a sphere where archaeology and topography not only progressively redefine the 'transformation', in the process documenting the settlement-differentiating impact of changing politico-administrative relations from region to region and giving to this redefinition its evolutionary and variegated aspects (how did the situation differ in given regions from century to century?). But they also start to allow us to consider a range of transformative factors, and to avoid privileging the politico-administrative. They thus inform a better historical approach to the transition. But equally it will be seen that approaches which rely upon archaeology and topography also tend to offer overriding 'general' explanations of 'the fate of the city'.

For this contribution, the basic differentiated categories of settlements identified above must be explained, to justify an avoidance of the conventional term 'city' in general analyses of

3. For the Balkans one thinks of the projects summarised in V. Kondić, 'Les formes des fortifications protobyzantines dans la région des Portes de Fer', *Villes et peuplement* 131-161; and of the excavations of Sirmium, Novae, and Atritus, now in course of publication.

4. See, for example, J. Haldon, *Byzantium in the seventh century. The transformation of a culture* (Cambridge 1990). 94f., 112ff., 123, in the context of an otherwise wide-ranging and multifactorial approach.

post-Greco-Roman settlements, at least for the Balkans. Then the positions which enquiries have reached relative to a more inclusive study of the transition than one conducted in terms of 'cities' can be discussed, with particular reference to the Balkans. This will involve the question of the most productive and balanced approaches (in response to the methodological imbalances already mentioned). A general qualification is that the following observations are based upon archaeological and topographical evidence of institutional or collective interventions (by the military, the administration, the church, and the aristocracy) in the differentiation of settlements. This kind of focus upon the evidence of the settlements themselves is an unavoidable feature of the study of 'the transition' in the Balkans. The literary and epigraphic sources may not yet have been fully exploited, and the latter of course grow gradually, but they still seem relatively limited as data-bases for the study of Late Antique and Middle Byzantine communities.⁵ However the publication of fuller archaeological reports should eventually make it easier than it now is, and sometimes by unfamiliar routes, to study communities in transition.

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It is convenient and seems evocative to speak of a 'transition from *polis* to *kastron*'. The phrase has gained a certain currency.⁶ But at the same time we need to ensure that any discussion under this heading acknowledges the complexities of the forms, positions, sizes, status, and functions, of 'upper-level'

5. The epigraphic culture of the Late Antique Balkans is poorer than that of some of the eastern provinces. There is no possibility of an urban social study such as J. Reynolds — R. Tannenbaum, *Jews and God-Fearers at Aphrodisias* (Cambridge 1987).

6. Cf. for instance W. Müller-Wiener, 'Von der Polis zum Kastron', *Gymnasium* 93 (1986) 434-75. This lengthy article is unfortunately merely a rambling accumulation of anecdotes about sites (all of civic urban settlements, nearly all Anatolian). Their development is ordered into three 'phases' in purely descriptive terms. Phase II, that of the *kastron*, is made to begin around '600 AD', but the discussion of this change is extremely confused and contradictory (*art. cit.* 451-62).

settlements in their diachronic evolution, as indicated by texts and revealed by archaeology and topography. A heading such as the 'transformation of the upper levels of the settlement-system' is more inclusive of the *milieux* of change which concern us, but in a rather awkward and neutral way which does not hint at the substance of the transformation. For that reason, and because no formula could express the substance of that transformation in its many aspects, one might as well refer to it, to the extent that it is yet understood, as 'the transition from *polis* to *kastron*'.

The evidence now at our disposal nevertheless indicates paradoxically that we must avoid highlighting Late Antique *poleis* and Middle Byzantine *kastra* and the differences between them in the discussion of the transition, at least for the Balkans. For the evidence is of a proliferation there during the Late Antique era of settled sites differentiated from the undefended rural settlement by form, position, and functions (though not necessarily by size and status), of which those with the status and attributes, official and unofficial, of a *polis* constitute only a small minority.⁷ The evidence also shows that formal, functional, and topographical attributes of most of these 'differentiated' settlements, including the attributes of many Early Byzantine *poleis*, prefigure those of the Middle Byzantine *kastron*.⁸

7. For a documentation of this numerical aspect and for a range of 'differentiated' types see I. Mikulčić, 'Über die Grösse der spätantiken Städte in [S.R.] Makedonien', *Živa Antika* 24 (1974) 191-212; *idem*, 'Frühchristlicher Kirchenbau in der S.R. Makedonien', *XXXIII. Corso di cultura sull'arte ravennate e bizantina* (1986) 221-251; *idem*, 'Spätantike Fortifikationen in der S.R. Makedonien', *XXXIII. Corso di cultura* ... 253-277. For the data-base see *Tabula Imperii Romani. Naissus — Dyrrachium — Scupi — Serdica — Thessalonike* (Ljubljana 1976).

8. Compare the information provided in some recent studies of the Late Antique Balkans regarding the sizes, situations, internal layouts, and features, of fortified settlements (see M. Biernacka-Lubanska, *The Roman and Early Byzantine fortifications of Lower Moesia and Northern Thrace* [Wrocław 1982]; Mikulčić as cited at n. 7; A. Poulter, 'The uses and abuses of urbanism in the Danubian provinces during the Later Roman Empire', *The city in Late Antiquity*, ed., J. Rich ([London/New York 1992] 99-135) with what we know about a Middle Byzantine Balkan *kastron* such as that of Rentina, for a plan of which see now *Εργον της αρχαιολογικής εταιρείας* (1990) 94, Fig. 33 (excavations of Professor N. Moutsopoulos). See also A. Dunn, 'Byzantine fortifications', *The Macmillan Dictionary of Art* (in press).

Furthermore some of the new Late Antique fortified sites, which had no status in public law, could and did become *poleis* (in name at least) in the Early Byzantine period.⁹ Effectively, it could be argued that the material-cultural and topographical changes normally associated with the so-called Dark Ages of the seventh and eighth centuries were only another phase of a transition which scholars now discern in the third and fourth centuries. That transition is from an era and from settlement-systems dominated by civic urban settlements (the *poleis*), based, however superficially, on Greco-Roman models, and onto whose traditional functions had been grafted some imperial fiscal functions, to an era in which, not only in the Balkans, imperial military and administrative functions and communal defensive functions came to permeate, and contribute to the redefinition of, the upper levels of the settlement-system,¹⁰ levels which were simultaneously experiencing considerable renewal under the impact of economic, cultural, and broadly political forces not directly controlled by the state. The progressive implantation from the mid third century onwards of new provincial administrative, military, and fiscal headquarters, of *fabricae*, mining centres, garrisons, and stations of the *cursus*, was clearly happening at the same time as a dispersal from spacious low-lying Greco-Roman urban centres to clusters of small upland sites not planned on traditional urban lines, a wider pattern of relocation to small

9. One thinks for instance of the fortified settlements of 'Golemo Gradište'/Konjuh and 'Kalata'/Makedonski Kamenica in F.Y.R.O.M., for which see Mikulčić, 'Über die Grösse der spätantiken Städte' (*art. cit.* n. 7) 204-206 and 207-208; *idem*, 'Frühchristlicher Kirchenbau' (*art. cit.* n. 7) 241-43; or of 'Krupište', N.W. of Bargala, for which see A. Beldedovski, 'Bregalnica Basin in the Roman and Early Medieval period', *Zavod na spomenike na kultureta i narodnei muzej. Zbornik* 6 (1990) 67-84, see 74-75.

10. Compare the arguments of Poulter, 'The uses and abuses of urbanism' (*art. cit.* n. 8) regarding the transformative role of the state in various Balkan contexts with, for Anatolia in the late third century, those to be found in C. Roueché, 'Floreat Perga!', *Images of authority* (The Cambridge Philological Society, supplementary vol. 16, [1989], 206-28.

walled sites, both under the impact of invasion and disorder,¹¹ inevitably an intensified exploitation of the uplands, and the christianisation of the foci of communal life.¹²

These upper levels could, as already suggested, be approximately categorised in the Late Antique era as 'civic urban', 'non-civic urban', and 'non-civic non-urban', and it could be argued that, while 'civic' and 'urban' features disappeared during

11. Besides the literature cited at nn. 7-9 above see too A. Poulter, 'Town and country in Moesia inferior', *Ancient Bulgaria* 11, ed., A. Poulter (Nottingham 1983) 74-118; Z. Gočeva, 'Der thrakische Festungsbau und sein Fortleben im spätantiken Fortifikationssystem in Thrakien', in: J. Hermann, H. Köpstein, R. Müller edd., *Griechenland — Byzanz — Europa* (Berlin 1985) 97-108; A. Dunn, 'From polis to kastron in southern Macedonia: Amphipolis, Khrysoupolis, and the Strymon Delta', *Castrum V. Archéologie de l'habitat fortifié. Archéologie des espaces agraires méditerranéens au Moyen Age* (Madrid/Rome, in press). For the literary evidence of the role of the state see V. Velkov, 'La construction en Thrace à l'époque du Bas-Empire (d'après les écrits), *idem*, *Roman cities in Bulgaria* (Amsterdam 1980) 263-275. For a case-study of dispersal from a large low-lying polis see reports upon the archaeology of the surroundings of the polis (civitas) of Scupi: Mikulčić, 'Über die Grösse der spätantiken Städte', 208-12, and N. Čausidis, 'Novootkrieni docnoanticki tvrdini na Skopska Crna Gora', *Macedoniae Acta Archaeologica* 10 (1985-1986) 183-97, with the bibliography of several projects (particularly that at 'Markovi Kuli'/Vodno, reported in the same periodical). See also Mikulčić, 'Über die Grösse . . .' 201-202 for evidence of a similar dispersal around Heraclea Lyncestis. There can be no doubt that investigations effected at the same scale as these would identify the phenomenon throughout northern Greece. See for instance S. Bakhuizen — F. Geschnitzer — C. Habricht — P. Marzloff, *Demetrias V* (Bonn 1987) 228-29 for the possibilities in southwestern Macedonia. It is probably detectable too among the many fortified upland sites reported by John Fossey in his topographical studies of Boeotia, Phocis, and Locris. But it is not obvious in the Peloponnese.

12. A vast subject which cannot be broached here, for which syntheses become ever harder to imagine. For the Balkans of course the 'classic' study would be E. Dyggve, *History of Salonitan Christianity* (Oslo 1951), beyond which it cannot be said that Christian Archaeology progressed to a new analysis in the proceedings of the tenth international congress of Christian Archaeology (1980), devoted to Eastern Illyricum in Late Antiquity. Balkan case-studies were absent from an earlier approach which used as its organising concept that of the 'Heilige Stadt': D. Claude, *Die byzantinische Stadt im 6. Jahrhundert* (Munich 1969) 208-19. Meanwhile the excavations of Thessalonike, Amphipolis, and Philippi would seem to provide the opportunity for new studies, and in the case of Thessalonike christianisation of the foci of communal life has been very much the focus of the research of Vickers, Bakirtzis, and Spieser. See J.-M. Spieser, *Thessalonique et ses monuments du IV^e au VI^e siècle. Contribution à l'étude d'une ville paléochrétienne* (Paris 1984).

the 'Dark Ages',¹³ the former permanently, the latter temporarily, the Late Antique 'non-civic non-urban' survived as a level or category differentiated from the undefended rural community, whether at new sites or at the sites of former urban settlements,¹⁴ to become, to all intents and purposes, the upper level of the settlement-systems of the seventh to ninth centuries (the level or category which included the places typically called *kastra* at this time). The formula 'transition from polis to kastron', construed as ■ short-hand allusion to a whole set of changes, therefore loses the associations that it has acquired of a straightforward sequence with ■ 'Dark-Age' timeframe, and becomes an allusion to a more complex and protracted transformation involving many settlements not classifiable as 'cities' or as urban. Provided that these qualifications are born in mind one may continue to use the expression.

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The wide range of approaches used by investigators of the fate of 'the city', or by investigators of individual 'upper-level' or differentiated sites, have had considerable effects upon the conclusions reached. It would therefore be useful to identify the major distinct approaches while considering conclusions regarding, or relevant to, 'the transition'.

Almost inevitably, for a host of practical reasons, much of the research which has as its focus 'the city' or individual sites has tended to concentrate upon one of the generic categories of data (textual, archaeological, topographical) which are needed, an underlying tendency which shapes the slanted versions of 'the transition' with which we are familiar.

Some of the most influential studies of the Late Antique stages of the transition, those of A. H. M. Jones, for instance took no

13. W. Brandes, *Die Städte Kleinasiens im 7. und 8. Jahrhundert* (BBA 56. Berlin/Amsterdam 1989).

14. See for a preliminary summary of numerous projects in Aegean Thrace Kh. Bakirtzis, 'Western Thrace in the Early Christian and Byzantine periods: results of archaeological research and the prospects, 1973-1987', *BF* 14 (1989) 41-58.

account of archaeology.¹⁵ Jones's studies of the decline of civic autonomy, of the loss of public lands and properties, and thus of the collective means of sustaining traditional amenities, are valid exploitations of the written sources. But they need to be counterbalanced by the evidence (much, though not all, of which is archaeological) of the roles of the church, the aristocracy, and the army in sustaining and indeed stimulating urban settlements. Jones stopped short of trying to explain the transformation or abandonment of his 'cities' in terms of the ending of civic autonomy, or of the demise of services associated with a pre-Christian culture. But he encouraged the movement towards defining and explaining 'the fate of the city' in terms of its altered politico-administrative status, an alteration which is seen in purely negative terms.¹⁶ This is an approach which fails to exploit, and could never appeal to, archaeology and topography. A quite contradictory approach is discernible among archaeologists working in the Balkans, which corresponds to Clive Foss's approach to the Anatolian material (*v.i.*), and which in practice defines and explains 'the fate of the city' in terms of historically recorded incidents: this or that barbarian or Muslim (7th-c.) raid, this or that earthquake,¹⁷ with an emphasis upon the explanatory value of seventh-century raids and earthquakes. It thus seems to take its cue from the historian Zakythinos.¹⁸ It does contain a debate about the relative importance of raids and

15. Of epigraphy and topography, yes. But one looks in vain for a reference to an excavation-report in Jones' *The Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces* (for instance in the section on Thrace: 1-27 and 375-81 of the second edition of 1971), or in his *The Later Roman Empire* (II, ch. 19, 'The cities', or in the references: III, 225-47), or in the related work *The decline of the ancient world*.

16. Jones, as cited, note 15 above.

17. A good recent example of this general approach to the explanation of change in the Balkan context would be D. Pallas, 'Corinthe et Nikopolis pendant le bas moyen-âge', *Felix Ravenna* 118 (1979) 93-142.

18. See his *H Βυζαντινή Ελλάς* (Athens 1965) 39-50, and his 'La grande brèche dans la tradition historique de l'Hellénisme du septième au neuvième siècle', *Χαριστήριον εις Α.Κ. Ορλάνδον* (Athens 1966), I, 300-327, for the framework within which Greek archaeologists have in practice, if not explicitly, operated.

earthquakes,¹⁹ and in this way interconnects with historiography. But it has not yet analysed its important new evidence for the transition within a debate about structural factors. Meanwhile however much archaeological research that is of immediate relevance has been conducted without reference to historians' debates, and with no obvious conception of the historical implications of the research being effected. This has been within what might be called a conventional Christian Archaeological tradition.²⁰ The fate of ancient or Late Antique monuments at traditional civic urban sites has also been an obsession, which offers a rich documentation of cultural and economic changes at certain sites, but an inadequate archaeological paradigm of the transition as tentatively redefined above. Many aspects of historical topography which can serve the study of the transition 'from *polis* to *kastron*', essentially the topographical relationships of all functionally differentiated settlements to each other and to communications and resources, are ignored in discussions of 'the fate of the city', and even (though of course it is difficult to achieve) in most discussions of the fate of individual urban centres.²¹

Finally there is a reluctance, wholly understandable in practical terms, to look closely at the whole era of transition; a tendency to look at one century (mostly the sixth or seventh) or at the first

19. See for instance Kh. Bakirtzis, 'Η ημέρα μετά την καταστροφή στους Φιλίππους', in: *Η καθημερινή Ζωή στο Βυζάντιο* (Athens 1989) 695-710; *idem*, 'À propos de la destruction de la basilique paléochrétienne de Kipia (Pangée)', in J. Karayannopoulos, *Les Slaves en Macédoine* (Athens 1989) 32-38; *idem*, 'Τι συνέβη στη Θάσο στις αρχές του μ.Χ. αι.', *Φιλία έπη εις Γ.Ε. Μυλωνάν* (Athens 1989) 339-341. I would like to acknowledge here the thoughtfulness of Kharalampos Bakirtzis in providing me with the almost unobtainable *Les slaves en Macédoine*.

20. One thinks for instance of the old excavations of Amphipolis, by E. Stikas (reported in the *Praktika tis arkhaiologikis etaireias* from 1962 to 1981), or of the excavations of P. Lazaridis at Phthiotic Thebes (reported in the same periodical from 1959 onwards), both projects pursued over decades without discussion of an interpretative framework.

21. A very rare case of the opposite is that of Scupi (Skopje), as cited at n. 11. But this will change as surveys of the hinterlands of excavated, or surveyed, urban centres advance (in the former category, Corinth and Sardis; in the latter, Thespiai and Yettos in Boeotia).

or second 'halves' of the era of transition as outlined above,²² or at 'the Dark Ages'.²³ And, as might be gathered from all the preceding observations, there is a very widespread tendency to regard the fate of 'the city' as a self-sufficient object of study, a tendency to study the most privileged settlements with little or no reference to other levels of the settlement-system within which they found themselves.²⁴

Clearly it would be hard for discussions of 'the fate of the city', as constituted on these different bases, to produce analyses of the 'transition from *polis* to *kastron*' as redefined above. For that to happen the lines of enquiry must be both merged and extended in ways that are easily deduced from these observations. But, as already indicated, there are some studies in which texts, archaeology, topography, and historical models, are all used to discuss more than one upper level settlement-category, the findings or implications of which now facilitate redefinitions of the debate about 'the end of the ancient city' in some Balkan contexts, and which, in the process, show how important it is to avoid, whenever possible, dependance upon one kind of source.²⁵ Besides avoiding this kind of formal bias, their findings undermine accounts of 'the fate of the city' which are derived one-sidedly from models, in practice models coming from historiography rather than archaeology. They demonstrate the need to avoid a discussion of historical processes in the sphere of the structures

22. A complaint made for instance about the works of the great Bulgarian scholar Velkov in V. Beševliev, 'Les cités antiques en Mésie et en Thrace et leur sort à l'époque du haut Moyen Âge', *Études Balkaniques* 5 (1966, 207-20) 207. Honourable exceptions to this rule are the much-criticised studies of Clive Foss.

23. For instance E. Frančes, 'La ville byzantine et la monnaie aux VII^e-VIII^e siècles', *Byzantinobulgarica* 2 (1966) 3-14; Brandes, *Städte Kleinasien* (op. cit. n. 13).

24. A point which was nevertheless understood before the non-urban record began to be seriously reported: see J.-M. Spieser, 'La ville en Grèce du III^e au VII^e siècle', *Villes et peuplement*, 315-40.

25. One thinks particularly of the studies of Mikulčić and Poulter as cited; cf. P. Soustal, *Tabula Imperii Byzantini* 3. *Nikopolis und Kephallenia* (Vienna 1981), and *idem*, *T.I.B.* 6. *Thrakien* (Vienna 1991); or of a small-scale project, J. Koder, 'The urban character of the Early Byzantine empire: some reflections on a settlement-geographical approach to the topic', *The 17th International Congress of Byzantine Studies. Major Papers* (Washington D.C. 1986) 155-187.

of communal life without reference to archaeology and topography,²⁶ the need, in other words, for a genuine interplay of models and evidence. No-one would of course disagree with the need for broadly based approaches, but it is salutary to be reminded of the reality.

When studying the transition in its regional (or sub-regional) specificity, broadly based approaches cannot often be extended to include neglected historical sources. For them (especially for the Balkans) the historical sources are few and well known. Archaeology and topography, it is recognised, are the sources of new data.²⁷ However while it is easy to say that, the more extensive and inclusive archaeological and topographical enquiries become, the better they will be for the study of the transition from *polis* to *kastron*, the kinds of projects which can provide a comprehensive documentation, intensive surveys, have their own explicit agendas.²⁸ It becomes necessary to defend a 'bias' towards the upper levels of the settlement-system. It might for instance be argued that the settlement-system of a given region can only be understood as a whole, and that therefore the transition from *polis* to *kastron* cannot be analysed before the rural context has been thoroughly documented; that it is inappropriate to discuss the upper-level settlements of a region or other geographical area until this has been done. But this would only be true if the stratification of settlements occurred 'naturally' within the sphere of the activities of settlement and of the exploitation of resources. Centres will usually develop among the settlements of a given geographical area, but not within a political, administrative, and cultural vacuum. Functional differentiation among Early Byzantine settlements, and then among Middle Byzantine settlements, is clearly the result of developments in the political, administrative, cultural, and productive spheres, and

26. The point is well argued with specific reference to historians' interpretations of the term *kastron* by Brandes, *Städte Kleinasien* (op. cit. n. 13) 28.

27. See for instance G. Dagron, 'Les villes dans l'Illyricum protobyzantin', *Villes et peuplement* 1-19, and P. Lemerle, 'Conclusion', op. cit. 501-521.

28. See D. Keller — D. Rupp ed., *Archaeological survey in the Mediterranean area* (British Archaeological Reports, I.S. 155, 1983), for many such agendas.

its explanation is definitely never to be sought merely in terms of the history of rural settlement and land-use. Equally of course its explanation should not be sought only within the politico-administrative or cultural spheres.²⁹ The more data we have about rural settlement and land-use across a geographical area, the more we shall probably learn about settlement-differentiation (for instance about the rise of the Middle Byzantine town) in that area. But progress is still possible, as can already be seen, concerning the transition, as redefined above, while we await the strictly rural data (which, is still obscure for the third to ninth centuries).

This brief survey identifies several kinds of approach, in effect the major observable ways of studying the Early-to-Middle Byzantine 'city', and ways in which formal aspects (attitudes to models and evidence) have affected the focus of their findings. The conclusion is unavoidable that, when pursued separately, these approaches are inadequate to deal with the transition which concerns us. This would not matter if it were not tacitly assumed that each approach explains the fate of 'the city'; if it were also conceded that these approaches cannot account for the transition to the *kastron* (as redefined); and if it were widely conceded that what each approach offers is a contribution to the discussion of a complex issue. Most of these approaches reflect widely practised strategies for the reconstruction of the past, so, although individual works cannot often be so easily labelled, it is worth summarising the approaches for easier recognition: the Jonesian institutionalist approach (a concentration upon the textual evidence of public institutional change within essentially civic urban communities); unidirectionally model-driven approaches; an approach which seeks to link urban archaeological phenomena with historical narratives; Christian Archaeology, *de facto* the study of Late Antique christian monuments; and the incipient

29. For a discussion of the conflict between the agendas of intensive surveys and the need to study Byzantine settlements from other perspectives see A. Dunn, 'Historical and archaeological indicators of economic change in Middle Byzantine Boeotia and their problems', in: *Β' Διεθνές συνέδριο Βοιωτικών Μελετών* (in press).

economistic approach derived from intensive surveys. Finally, most research under these headings shares the characteristic for mainly practical reasons, of dealings with only parts of the era of transition.

At the same time these approaches offer very useful contributions which arguably, while apparently disparate, are mutually complementary, serving, together with the methodologically and evidentially more broadly based projects, the development of frameworks for case-studies of the transition. While the discussion of this point will concentrate upon the contribution of Balkan projects, this can only be within the context of studies which provide a more general framework (and whose data may concern eastern parts of the Byzantine world).

The recognition and first analysis of some kind of transition are, as is well known, closely linked with Alexander Kazhdan, who used archaeological reports to argue that the Early Byzantine 'cities' were replaced in the seventh century by fortresses (the *kastra* of the sources) and by rural settlements, and that their material culture was transformed at this time by an economic decline illustrated by a partial demonetisation.³⁰ These ideas, not well received in some quarters,³¹ were absorbed, perhaps through the general debate, and richly illustrated by Clive Foss in a series of studies of the physical transformation of urban sites (in fact, Greco-Roman civic urban settlements) in Anatolia.³² Grierson's and Hendy's works on urban demonetisation, whether in the spheres of exchange or of fiscal redistribution, in the seventh

30. A. Kazhdan, 'Vizantiiskie goroda v VII-IX vv.', *Sovetskaya Arkheologiya* 21 (1954) 164-88, particularly 166-73. Kazhdan develops his arguments about demonetisation in his 'Moneta e società', *La cultura bizantina: oggetti e messaggio. Moneta ed economia* (Rome 1986) 203-236, see 208-18.

31. For this debate see now for convenience Brandes, *Städte Kleinasien* 19, nn. 1-4.

32. One thinks particularly of his well known monographs about Sardis and Ephesus, of his study of Ankara — *DOP*, 31 (1977) 27-87 — and the study of the fate of the 'twenty cities' (i.e., civic urban centres) — *AJA*, 81 (1977) 469-486.

to ninth centuries, exemplify another aspect.³³ The work of archaeological specialists such as John Hayes, proving that the production of ranges of fine wares and storage-jars, and the commercial networks which took them all over the Mediterranean and beyond in large quantities, all declined dramatically in the seventh century, also seemed to corroborate Kazhdan's thesis.³⁴ And topographical and archaeological studies of numerous Greco-Roman sites have confirmed the physical transformation or degradation of traditional urban settlements, including the shrinkage of the fortified areas to the proportions of a fortress built with *spolia* from abandoned monuments.³⁵ The physical transformation of traditional urban settlements is therefore now closely associated with steep declines in artisanal production, long-distance trade, and monetised exchange, changes which were felt almost everywhere by the early seventh century. Much research therefore, although not deliberately construed as a response to Kazhdan's thesis, seems to illustrate, amplify, or refine it, at least on its chosen ground, essentially that of the traditional Greco-Roman civic urban settlement (the focus, for modern cultural-

33. P. Grierson, 'Coinage and money in the Byzantine empire, 498-c. 1090', *Moneta e scambi nell' alto medioevo* (Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull' alto medioevo VIII, Spoleto 1961) 411-453; *idem*, 'Commerce in the Dark Ages: a critique of the evidence', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 9/5 (1959) 123-40; M. Hendy, *Studies in the Byzantine Monetary Economy c. 300-1450* (Cambridge 1985) section 7 (iv) & (v) and 619 ff.; also the contributions of Grierson, Morrison, Durliat, and Kazhdan, to *La cultura bizantina: oggetti e messaggio. Moneta ed economia* (Rome 1986).

34. For instance J. Hayes, 'Problèmes de la céramique des VII^e-IX^e siècles à Salamine et à Chypre', *Salamine de Chypre. Histoire et archéologie. État des recherches* (Paris 1980) 375-80; P. Arthur, 'Amphorae and the Byzantine world', in: J.-Y. Empereur-Y. Garlan edd., *Recherches sur les amphores grecs* (Paris 1986) 655-660; *idem*, 'Aspects of Byzantine economy: an evaluation of amphora evidence from Italy', in: V. Déroche — J.-M. Spieser, *Recherches sur les céramiques byzantines* (Paris 1989) 79-91; C. Abadie-Reynal, 'Céramique et commerce dans le bassin égéen du IV^e au VII^e siècle', in: *Hommes et richesses dans l'empire byzantin I: IV^e — VII^e siècles* (Paris 1989) 143-159.

35. See above all Brandes, *Städte Kleinasien* 81-111.

historical reasons which need not concern us here, of the major excavations.³⁶

These studies' evidence of the decline of the material culture of the traditional Greco-Roman civic urban settlements, and of the decline of commodity-production and exchange associated with them, is immensely important. But it needs to be reconciled with the evidence of the other differentiated settlements categorised above. 'Civic urban studies' have furthermore not reached historically satisfactory explanations of the transition which they describe. Foss's urban biographies (of Sardis, Ephesus, and Ankara, for instance) have been singled out for criticism in this respect.³⁷ unlike the 'first-hand' reports on excavations and on site-finds such as coins and pottery. But in fact no-one has yet offered a working model of an interplay of transformative factors either for the empire as a whole or for the Balkans in particular. This is not to say that very general explanations, relating as always to the fate of civic urban settlements, have not been provided by, or cannot be extrapolated from, certain lines of enquiry. They have already been mentioned: explanations in terms of a loss of 'role' or 'function' within the imperial system, of the withdrawal of imperial support, or of earthquakes and other natural disasters. But if one takes the whole range of types of enquiry now being practised it is already clear, that *pari passu* with the study of settlements other than those in the traditional civic urban category, elements of a different definition of the transition 'from *polis* to *kastron*' emerge.

Research which in effect takes into consideration all our provisional categories of settlement in various parts of the Balkans (for instance in the northwest, in Bulgaria, in F.Y.R.O.M., and

36. The recent study by M. Whittow, for instance, 'Ruling the Late Roman and Early Byzantine city: a continuous history', *Past and Present* 129 (1990) 3-29, in stressing the evidence of the wealth of the traditional urban centres of the eastern provinces until the end of the sixth century does not affect this argument one way or the other.

37. For instance W. Brandes, 'Ephesos in byzantinischer Zeit', *Klio* 64 (1982) 611-622.

in Albania)³⁸ serves to contradict the equation of a fall in the number of 'cities' from the third century onwards (typically by a half) with a retreat from urban models in general.³⁹ It also contradicts generalisations based on the Eastern Mediterranean evidence about the decisiveness of the seventh century for the emergence of new urban models. Rather, it serves to demonstrate the continuous and vital contribution of the state (either of the emperor or of various branches of the administration, or the army, or indeed the navy) to the development of the upper levels of the settlement-system in general and to redefined urban models in particular, and it serves to demonstrate that this process began in the third century. At the same time of course it serves to demonstrate a major re-ordering of the priorities of the state at the sites in question (whether or not previously urban or urbanising), in sharp contrast to the priorities still prevalent in the Severan Age, also the dissonance between this re-ordering and the rhetoric of 'the city' deployed by emperors at least until the mid sixth century.⁴⁰ This research also serves to demonstrate the commitment of the new aristocracy and the church in the Balkans to the redefined urban models, their positive response to the re-ordering of urban priorities from the fourth century onwards, without which these would undoubtedly have failed (one thinks particularly of the evidence of the excavations of Stobi for a new aristocratic 'quartier' within the Late Antique walls). And it is not, as might be thought, a question of the ultimate failure of these redefined urban models at the end of Antiquity. For while

38. For the N.W. Balkans, Bulgaria, and F.Y.R.O.M. see nn. 7-9 and 11 above; for Albania see for convenience V. Popović, 'Byzantins, Slaves, et autochthones dans les provinces de Prévalitane et Nouvelle Épire', *Villes et peuplement* 181-243.

39. See Mikulčić, 'Frühchristlicher Kirchenbau' 227. An analysis of the data assembled in F. Papazoglou, *Les villes de Macédoine à l'époque romaine* (Paris 1988) 185-206 and 351-442 regarding southern Macedonia would produce a similar reduction by half in the number of civic urban settlements.

40. For the dissonance between, on the one hand, real imperial priorities and the settlements and communities which could develop in the conditions of the sixth century, and, on the other hand, the supposed roles of an imperial foundation, see I. Popović, 'Les activités professionnelles . . .', *Caricin Grad II* (Belgrade/Rome 1990) 303-306.

the *model* of the traditional Greco-Roman settlement, such as Aphrodisias, was abandoned, the final models which had been developed in the Balkans by the sixth century, such as at Caričin Grad and at Markovi Kuli/Vodno by Skopje, look as though they inspired rebuilding at significant sites in Anatolia in response to the disruptions of the seventh century. They can be seen realised in the form, size, situations, and military architecture, of Theologos outside Ephesus proper and of Ancyra, and partially realised elsewhere, while non-urban Balkan upper-level models were applied at less important sites.⁴¹ The abandonment of many, in some areas most, of the Balkans' urban and non-urban fortified settlements after the sixth century did not lead the Byzantine state to adopt a new approach towards traditional urban centres or to adopt new 'settlement-models'. On the contrary, it completed the politico-administrative processes analysed by Jones,⁴² 'Balkanised' the Anatolian urban settlements, and constructed lesser fortified sites which recall the *oppida*, garrison-forts, and *refugia*, of the Late Antique Balkans.⁴³ In other words, the redefined urban and non-urban models of the late Antique Balkans were deemed sustainable.

Recent archaeological and topographical research should therefore lead us to look afresh at the notion that 'cities' lost their 'function' within the imperial system and were abandoned by the state. By the seventh century the legal rights of *poleis* did not serve the needs of a state which was mobilising the whole economy and society against external threats, and traditional urban centres with large populations and elaborate amenities were economically unsustainable.⁴⁴ But the state had throughout the Late Antique era been developing in the Balkans relatively small alternative fortified centres where the needs of the various branches of the

41. Points to be developed in a forthcoming study.

42. See Haldon, *Byzantium in the seventh century* 95-98 for a synopsis of this process which pursues it into the early seventh century.

43. For probable examples see C. Foss, *Survey of Medieval Castles of Anatolia I: Kütahya* (British Archaeological Reports, I.S. 261, 1985) 95-98, plus plan, unnumbered *in fine* (the site of Altıntaş), and 119-21 (the site of Saruhanlar).

44. Haldon, *Byzantium in the seventh century*, ch. 3.

administration and the military, sometimes of the emperor himself,⁴⁵ could be met, and where in time the needs of the church and the new aristocracy could be met too. These could, before the seventh century, develop urban characteristics and acquire the legal status and rights of *poleis*, but their value to the state did not depend upon these characteristics. Therefore the widespread loss of urban characteristics and general loss of civic characteristics in the seventh century, and the 'Balkanisation' of the urban centres of Anatolia, did not reflect the state's loss of interest in either its own foundations or in Greco-Roman urban centres. Such changes simply bring into sharper focus their *underlying* functions within the state, long-established in the Balkans, but in Anatolia enhanced and attributed to many more places only in the seventh to eighth centuries.⁴⁶

This is the context in which to consider research which shows an increasing use from the seventh century (but beginning earlier) of the term *kastron* in the Greek sources.⁴⁷ The term seems to denote by this time a settlement differentiated from the majority as an administrative and military centre, fortified of course, but not to be confused with lesser fortifications (καστέλια, πύργοι, φρούρια, etc.). The term did not necessarily, in the conditions of the seventh and eighth centuries, have the connotation of 'town' (urban settlement). Its use probably also reflected the disappearance of the civic level of administration, and so of certain uses of the term *polis*. The church continued officially to call the same settlements, if bishoprics were attached to them, *poleis/civitates* (see the acts of the seventh-century ecumenical councils), but in practice episcopal status was itself becoming another way of distinguishing a *kastron* from a mere fortification.

If the evidence regarding Balkan upper-level settlements in Late Antiquity were better integrated into current syntheses, different

45. For instance Romuliana ('Gamzigrad'), built by the emperor Galerius, and Split, built by Diocletian: J. Wilkes, *Diocletian's Palace, Split: Residence of a Retired Roman Emperor* (Sheffield 1986).

46. The process was nevertheless under way in third-century Anatolia: see Roueché, *art. cit.* n. 10.

47. See now Brandes, *Städte Kleinasien*, ch. III.

definitions of the transition from *polis* to *kastron* from those which concentrate upon the fate of traditional Greco-Roman civic urban settlements in the seventh century would emerge. Put simply, it would be arguable that the transition had already occurred in the Balkans during Late Antiquity in many if not most respects; that at many sites it manifested itself in a redefined urbanism; that this was an urbanism in which the state took an essential interest, though not as the sole or necessarily leading promoter; and that the 'de-urbanisation', 'pauperisation', or 'ruralisation', of the 'Dark-Age' archaeological record should be considered as a separate aspect of the transition. In the Balkans the onset of these processes can be identified in the archaeological record as long-term phenomena after the other changes (*i.e.*, changes of size, distribution, situation, numbers, plan, amenities, and intended functions, probably including civic) have occurred.⁴⁸ It is in Anatolia that they *accompany* and become intertwined with the other aspects of the transition, and therefore that they seem to be inextricable from them. Long-term 'de-urbanisation' in both its economic and cultural aspects has therefore to be disentangled from both the abandonment of the Greco-Roman urban heritage and from the immediate effects of war, invasions, and natural disasters, and its connections with them re-formulated.

This has been a discussion of some imbalances in the emphases of research about the 'fate of the city' or 'the transition from *polis* to *kastron*', but at the same time it has brought out the complementarity of the different approaches identified. Even a simple 'juxtaposition' of these approaches has moreover indicated how several important models and assumptions concerning all or parts of the transition may be revised, with eventual consequences for our understanding of the cultural, economic, and political changes which differentiated settlements and

48. That is, only from the fifth century onwards, *e.g.* at Stobi (Mikulčić, 'Über die Grösse', 198, with further references). It is important to distinguish this phase of urban disintegration, which eventually affected all differentiated settlements, from the selective abandonments (displacements) of the third and fourth centuries.

communities experienced. These observations concern the mid-third to mid-seventh centuries. The subsequent development of the *kastron*, and the emergence from it of the Middle Byzantine town during the mid seventh to ninth centuries (and even beyond), deserve to be treated separately, only however when many relevant archaeological investigations have reached fruition.⁴⁹

49. The later seventh, and sometimes the eighth, centuries are emerging from complete obscurity in the preliminary and final reports of the excavations of Corinth, Gortyn, Kourion, Anemourion, Crimean Kherson, and 'Emporio'/Khios, all coastal or insular sites. But it is not yet possible to look into the vast Balkan and Anatolian 'hinterlands' (I exclude for this purpose the excavations of the settlements of the Bulgar Khaganate, such as Pliska), or beyond this timeframe, other than in the way so well deployed by Brandes (*Städte Kleinasiens*, ch. V), that is, using written sources and essentially topographical data (regarding the sizes and situations of sites as they changed).

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'Till dreadful death do ease my doleful state':¹ Structures of desire in the Cypriot sonnets*

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'Desire is death', wrote Shakespeare,² exploiting a commonplace of the sixteenth century love-lyric, which lies also at the crux of the anonymous sixteenth century Cypriot sonnets, published with an extensive scholarly introduction, French translation and notes, in 1952, by Thémis Siapkaras-Pitsillidès.³ The collection comprises one hundred and fifty-six poems, in a variety of metrical forms, some of which translate or adapt Italian originals. Thémis Siapkaras-Pitsillidès addresses the following questions: manuscript condition and origins; dating; authorship; influences, and versification. The poems are placed in categories according to metrical form, and a description of metre and rhyme-schemes is provided. More recently, Lucia Marcheselli-Loukas has made a detailed formal study arguing that the Cypriot sonnets show considerable originality of versification and made a significant contribution to the formation of the Modern Greek literary Koine.⁴ In this paper, we shall examine the themes and struc-

* We would like to thank Roderick Beaton for reading this paper.

1. Sir Thomas Wyatt, 'The Pillar Perished is Whereto I Leant'.

2. William Shakespeare, Sonnet CXLVII [My Love is as a fever, longing still . . .].

3. Thémis Siapkaras-Pitsillidès, *Le Pétrarquisme en Chypre. Poèmes d'amour en dialecte chypriote, d'après un manuscrit du XVI^e siècle, Texte établi et traduit avec le concours de Hubert Pernot* (Athènes 1952).

4. Lucia Marcheselli-Loukas, 'Πίμες αγάπης: Modelli ritmici dell' endecasillabo cipriota', *Θεσσαλονίκη* 21 (1991) 316-346. Other studies on the subject (V. Pecoraro, 'Primi appunti sul Canzoniere Petrarchesco di Cipro', *Atti del I Convegno Nazionale di Studi Neogreci*, 97-127; E. Mathiopoulos-Tornaritou, 'Lyrik der Spätrenaissance auf Zypern. Beobachtungen und Notizen zum Codex Marc. Gr. IX, 32', *Folia Neohellenica* 7 (1985-6) (63-159) are not quoted in this paper because our focus is on the structure of the texts rather than on their origins

tures of one of the best-represented metrical forms in the collection: the sonnet.

Thematically, the twenty-five sonnets are preoccupied with desire (πόθος),⁵ death (θάνατος) and the relationship between the two. We shall explore the various ways in which the sonnets chart this relationship, focusing on the twelve sonnets whose foreground it most clearly occupies.⁶ After a brief, schematic survey of the courses followed by desire and death and their conjunctions, and then of the motifs recurring in them, we will devote most space to underlying structures (both semantic and grammatical).

1. Configurations of Desire and Death

Both death and desire appear under more than one guise. Desire may be fulfilled or unfulfilled, and death may be desired or undesired. Relationships between the two depend in part on the nature of death or desire in the poem in question, but are never a matter of simple identity or antithesis. The main lines of argument seem to be as follows: (a) that unfulfilled desire may lead to death; (b) that death may be entailed in desire's fulfilment, and (c) that the thrall of desire is like a living death.

1.1 *That unfulfilled desire may lead to death*

That unfulfilled desire may lead to death is a threat sometimes employed where love is unrequited. In sonnet 14,⁷ the speaker

and dating or on problems concerning the manuscript. For the same reason we do not refer to the other editions of the Cypriot poems by Siapkaras-Pitsillidès (1975, and 1976 [the latter in Greek]), which we have, however, taken into account. Moreover, since we are not dealing with the issue of translation or adaptation of the Italian originals, we do not provide any relevant information concerning the poems we have selected for close reading in this paper.

5. Πόθος is translated into French by Siapkaras-Pitsillidès as 'amour'; it is also used in the poems themselves to translate 'amor(e)'. In rendering it here as 'desire', we are attempting to preserve the distinction between πόθος and ἀγαπῶ which exists in the sonnets themselves.

6. The sonnets numbered 6-14, 16, 17 and 23 in the edition.

7. The reference 'sonnet 14' and subsequent similar references to other sonnets are employed only for purposes of convenience and brevity; the full reference would be: 'the poem numbered 14 in the edition, which is in sonnet form'.

maintains that his own continued existence prevents the addressee from taking his suit seriously. While he lives and breathes, she cannot believe him to be in torment:

Ἀμμέ διατί βιγλίζεις τήν πνοήν μου
νά γνάξῃ, δέν πιστεύγεις τά λαμπρά μου,
γι' αὐτόν ὁ χάρος ὁ ποιός ἐν κοντά μου,
θέλει σφαλίσειν ἀπού μιάς τό δεῖν μου.

Clearly the speaker hopes that the threat of his impending death will function as a catalyst, transforming unfulfilled into fulfilled desire. At the same time, however, death is presented as the only possible release from the torment of unfulfilled desire. The sonnet continues:

Ἐγώ παρακαλῶ τόν ὀρισμόν του
γιά νά λευτερωθῶ τέλεια 'πό κείνον
ἀπού μ' ἔκαψεν πιά παρά κανέναν.

("Του" in the first of these lines refers to death; "κεῖνον", in the second, to desire.) Thus death may be instrumental in capturing the addressee or in freeing the speaker.

Death may also be the outcome of the lover's quest for his beloved. In sonnet 13, the speaker pursues his desire, which in turn trails the girl he addresses. The quarry remains untouched by desire, and the chase ends in Hades: '[ἡ πεθυμιά μου] νιώθω στὸν ἄδη μέ πεσώνναι'. Yet, moments before the speaker's arrival in the underworld, the object of desire comes fleetingly within his grasp:

μόνον (γιά νά'ρτω) στό δέντρον νά γγίσω
ἐκεῖνον τόν καρπὸν τόν φουμισμένον
ἀπ' ὅτις τόν γευτῇ ποτέ τελειώνναι.

Thus unfulfilled desire placed in proximity to death may come close to fulfilment. Longing for such a transformation of desire pervades two sonnets (11 and 12) which contrast fulfilment of desire in dreams with unfulfilled desire in waking life. In sonnet 11, the tantalizing dream-attainment of desire awakens in the speaker the desire to sleep forever:

Μμάτια μου, ἀφόν βιγλάτε κοιμισμένα
κεῖνον πού θέλω πάντα νά θωρῆτε,
μείνετε μέραν νύχταν καμμουμένα.

In sonnet 12, the same request is addressed to Desire itself, revealing a conviction of desire's omnipotence. Not only does desire bring dreams, it can even command death:

ὦ Πόθε πού μᾶς παίζεις μέ τό θάρρος
[.../...]
ρίσε νά 'ρτη βουργά σ' ἐμέν ὁ χάρος.

Thus, unfulfilled desire is related to death in more ways than one. Death is perceived as providing release from desire, desire's fulfilment temporary or permanent, or else persuasion in the furtherance of fulfilment.

1.2 *That death may be entailed in the fulfilment of desire*

Fulfilled desire is never made explicit in the sonnets. It may, though, be deduced from phrases like the above-quoted 'νά γγίσω/ἐκεῖνον τόν καρπὸν', or from references to the presence (rather than absence) of the beloved. That death may actually result from the fulfilment of desire can be inferred from sonnet 9, where the speaker, on drawing near to his beloved, draws near to death. Even if he surrenders himself to her, he will still die:

Τόσα βιγλῶ κοντά τόν θάνατόν μου
ὅσον πρὸς τήν ἐχθρήμ μου νά σιμώσω
κι οὐδέ φεῶ με ἂν εἶν' καί παραδώσω
σ' αὐτόν της ταπεινά τόν ἑμαυτόν μου.

In this instance, death and desire are either synonymous or come together. A similar conceit is in play in sonnet 6, where the addressee's eyes at once sustain the speaker (εἰς τήν ζωήν [...]) μέ κρατοῦσιν) and reveal to him his coming death (ἀξ αὐτοῦ τοὺς θωρῶ τόν θάνατόν μου).

If unfulfilled desire may lead to death, desire on the brink of fulfilment is comparable to dying. Death in this latter case is not a result, but rather an indispensable part of desire.

1.3 *That the thrall of desire is like a living death*

By now it is clear that the kingdom of death and the realm of desire have no well-defined boundaries between them; the one constantly encroaches upon the other. Sonnets 17 and 25 present the paradox whereby life itself (of which desire is also part) can be akin to death. Sonnet 17 limns the contradictory nature of desire, while sonnet 23 describes the torments inflicted by desire upon the speaker. Both sonnets reach similar conclusions about the state of desire. Lovers, according to 17, 'δέν νιώθουν πώς ζούν ἀποθαμμένοι', and the speaker, in 23, complains, 'δέν εἶμαι ζωντανός δ' ἀποθαμμένος'. Thus desire is imaged as a painful state of death-in-life.

2. Recurring motifs

The motifs which recur with most frequency, in the twelve sonnets under discussion, refer to parts of the body, either of the speaker or his addressee (for example, eyes, hair, lips, heart), or to the speaker's feelings (such as hope or torment). The three most privileged motifs of all are eyes, the heart and fire. Eyes, or vocabulary associated with them (such as βιγλίζω, δειν, τυφλωμένος and θωριά), appear in ten of these twelve sonnets; the heart in six, and fire in six. Here, we shall look at the context surrounding these motifs as well as their semantic function.

The eyes of the beloved woman are alluded to more frequently than any of her other features. Occasionally characterized as 'ἔμνοστα' (sonnet 6) or 'γλυκιά' (sonnet 7), they are never described more specifically. Instead, the speaker concentrates on their connections with light and life, and on the effects wrought on him by their 'βλέμμα'. In sonnet 6, the speaker, subject to his loved one's gaze, loses his own ability to see:

Ὦνταν τὰ ἔμνοστα μμάτια νά μέ δοῦσιν,
τό βλέμμα νά στεριώσουν εἰς αὐτόν μου,
τόσο τό φῶς τους βάλλω στό μυαλόν μου
καί τὰ δικά μου πόν οὐδέν θωροῦσιν.

In sonnet 8, the beloved's gaze results in the speaker's loss of self:

Τοῦτα ἴν τὰ γλυκά μμάτια πού βιγλῶντα
ὄλωσ ἔχασα γώ τόν ἑμαυτόν μου;

Apart from loss of self or loss of vision, there are other effects which the addressee's eye may produce on the speaker. They hold him to life, simultaneously revealing his death (sonnet 6), or he suffers, consumed by a fire from within, when they look at him (sonnet 6). In sonnet 16, the girl's eyes light a fire in the speaker, sweet for as long as he dreams she continues to look at him: 'τόσον γλυκά ν' ἀξάψουν τά λαμπρά μου'. Once her gaze is directed elsewhere, he finds himself 'μέ στό καμίνι'.

The speaker's eyes, despite deriving their own light from the beloved's, play a significant, though different role. Open, they often prevent his seeing what he wants to see; the wish-fulfilment that takes place in dreams provokes him to demand that they stay shut:

Μμάτια μου, ἀφόν βιγλάτε κοιμισμένα
κεῖνον που θελω πάντα νά θωρήτε,
μείνετε μέραν νόχταν καμμουμένα. (sonnet 11).

Desire itself is often expressed by the speaker in visual terms: his desire is to look upon his addressee. No sooner, however, is the desire gratified, than another desire is kindled in the speaker. Vision, then, represents both a desire in itself and a catalyst producing another, unspecified desire, which sometimes results in blindness. In sonnet 13, for example, the speaker cannot resist the compulsion to follow his desire 'γοιόν τυφλωμένος'.

Desire unspecified has strong connections with the other two most prevalent motifs: fire and the heart. Unlike the power of sight, fire and the heart appertain to the speaker alone, and are never attributed to the addressee. The speaker's heart may catch fire (νιώθω κι ἄφται καρδιά μου, sonnet 6), or burning desire inflict wounds on it ('Αναμωμένος καί πωρνόν καί βράδυν/ἐβλεπε στήν καρδιάν νά μέ καρφώσης, sonnet 10). The addressee, too, may wound the speaker's heart mercilessly ('Αν τόσην πίστην νά διδῇ στό πέν μου/εἰς ὅσον τήν καρδιάν πλῆξε, κυρά μου, sonnet 14), or again may hold it captive (ἐκείνην ἀπού πῆρεν τήν καρδιάμ μου, sonnet 11). Fire and the heart stand as active participant and passive recipient respectively, in love. Fire, which may be kindled by the eyes of the beloved,

metaphorically depicts the speaker's torments or desire, often controlling the speaker in spite of himself: 'Τούτα 'ν τά φρύδια π' ἄφτουν τό λαμπρόν μου/καί λύπη πάγω δωριανὰ ζητώντα;' (sonnet 8).

Eyes, fire and the heart, then, are three intertwining motifs employed to highlight different aspects of desire. The power of the addressee over the speaker derives from her eyes, while the speaker's desire is to look on the addressee. Looking at her (or being looked at by her) ignites his heart, and the resultant fire directs his actions. These include the desire to behold the beloved. Sonnet 23 contains the only proposal for escaping from this vicious circle: writing.

Ἴτσου νά μπόρουν εἰς χαρτίν νά γράψω
τά πάθη μου γοιόν ἔναι ν' ἀγρικούντα,
πῶς οἱ γλυκοί μου ἀστέρες ἐλυποῦντα
κ' ἔβλεπεν πάψειν ἀπού μέν ἡ κάψα.

Even this, however, is doomed to failure: "Ἀμμέ γιατί δέν ἔμπορῶ τῶς ἄψα/νά πῶ . . .'. The vicious circle remains intact.

3. Structures

The three configurations of desire and death (outlined above) and their attendant motifs are framed by the relationship between the speaker and his addressee. This addressee is usually the beloved; sometimes Desire itself; occasionally Fate. The relationship is posited as 'your effects on me'. A further indication that desire and death are at the crux of this lies in the frequent play on words: πόθος, ἀποθαμμένος, ποθῶ, ποθαίνω. Analysis of 'your effect on me', couched in elaborate rhetoric, corresponds to the following formula: I desire you, and you (or Desire) will bring me to the point of death. The sonnets often make use of rhetorical questions, where the speaker addresses himself or his fate, and employ argumentation of the type: (1) As a result of A plus B I shall do C, or (2) I want X, but since Y is the case, I will have Z. Such patterns often point up paradox or operate via structures repeated with ever increasing intensity: blindness, for example, may be replaced by death in a subsequent version of a verbal formula.

After a brief consideration of desire and its relationship with death in all twelve sonnets, we shall analyze a sample-section drawn from the three categories; two sonnets from the first (Death comes from unfulfilled desire); one from the second (Death comes with desire's fulfilment), and two from the third (Desire is a living death).

3.1 *Death and Desire in Twelve Sonnets (Schema)*

3.1.1 Sonnet 6

The girl's eyes arouse desire in the speaker, who sees his death reflected in them. In spite of their destructive effects on him, he desires them.

3.1.2 Sonnet 7

The girl's eyes give life to the speaker. He longs to be able to describe her in writing, but finds this impossible.

3.1.3 Sonnet 8

The girl's eyes (and her beauty in general) arouse the speaker's desire; he lives for her, in alienation from himself. Desire personified bestows all gifts upon the girl, assigning to the speaker only hope and death.

3.1.4 Sonnet 9

The speaker sees his death approach, as he draws near to his beloved. He hopes death will release him from the torment of desire, but knows that it will not: in death, as in life, he belongs to his beloved.

3.1.5 Sonnet 10

Desire constantly wounds the speaker, but leaves his beloved unharmed. The speaker taunts Desire for lack of empire over her.

3.1.6 Sonnet 11

Beholding his beloved in a dream, the speaker hopes for life. He sees her when awake and longs to die. Since only in sleep do his eyes see what he wishes them to see, he asks them to stay permanently shut.

3.1.7 Sonnet 12

The speaker has seen the girl in his sleep and tells Desire that it should have left him asleep. He asks Desire to make death come quickly for him.

3.1.8 Sonnet 13

The speaker follows his fancy (πεθυμιά), which follows Desire (Πόθος), which follows the unassailed girl. The speaker cannot resist the chase, but knows it leads to Hades. Just before he dies, the fruit which brings death to all who taste it will come within the speaker's grasp.

3.1.9 Sonnet 14

Seeing him alive, the girl will not believe the speaker is in torment; her disbelief will bring about his death. Death will release the speaker from desire, but the world will castigate the girl for killing her true lover.

3.1.10 Sonnet 16

The speaker dreams of his beloved's eyes, source of his own eyes' light; he burns and considers leaving this life. He longs to remain asleep, but the fire wakes him up, and he finds himself inside the furnace.

3.1.11 Sonnet 17

A disquisition on the nature of desire. Desire is bitter but sweet, false but beloved. Lovers, unbeknown to themselves, are the living dead.

3.1.12 Sonnet 23

If the speaker could write down his torments, they would cease, but he cannot. Desire wants him to suffer silently, while boasting of the speaker's suffering. In addition, Desire refuses to mention it to the beloved. As a result, the speaker neither lives nor dies.

3.2 Analysis of structures

3.2.1 Of unfulfilled desire and death: sonnets 6 and 12

Sonnet 6

Ὦνταν τὰ ἔμνοστα μμάτια νά μέ δοῦσιν,
τό βλέμμα νά στεριώσουν εἰς αὐτόν μου,
τόσα τό φῶς τους βάλλω στό μυαλόν μου
καί τὰ δικά μου πόν οὐδέν θωροῦσιν.

Ὦνταν μέ δοῦν, τὰ μέλη μου χαλοῦσιν,
Ὦνταν μέ δοῦν, ἀξάφτει τό λαμπρόν μου
ἀξ αὐτοῦ τους θωρῶ τόν θάνατόν μου
κ' εἰς τήν ζωήν ἐκεῖνα μέ κρατοῦσιν.

Ὦντας σ' ἔμέν γυρίζουν καί θωροῦν με,
νιῶθω κι ἄφτει καρδιά μου μαρτυρώντα
κ' ἐκεῖνα νιῶθουν κι ἀξανά βιγλοῦν με
κι ὥσπου περίτου πάσκει πολεμῶντα
τά ποιά, μέραν και νύχτα, καταλοῦν με,
τόσον ἐκεῖνα στέκω πεθυμῶντα.

The most striking structural device in this sonnet consists in the series of clauses introduced by ὄνταν, where the addressee's eyes are the subject and the speaker the object of a verb of seeing: Ὦνταν τὰ ἔμνοστα μμάτια νά μέ δοῦσιν (l.1); ὄνταν μέ δοῦν (ll.5,6); ὄντας σ' ἔμέν γυρίζουν καί θωροῦν με (l.9). Thus, the first ten lines of the poem form a chain of interconnected and ever-intensifying result-clauses, all conveying the effects produced on the speaker by the ever-intensifying gaze of his beloved. The first link in the chain is formed by the first four lines of the octave; the second by the fifth line of the octave; the third (where the introductory statement replicates that of the second: ὄνταν μέ δοῦν) by the last three lines of the octave, and the fourth by the two opening lines of the sextet.

Through this series, the eyes of the beloved engage in various acts of seeing, some more deliberate than others, since, 'τό βλέμμα νά στεριώσουν' and 'σ' ἔμέν γυρίζουν' imply more volition than 'ὄνταν μέ δοῦν'. Structures referring to the beloved, in this sonnet, retain syntactical stability: here eyes remain in the position of grammatical subject. Structures referring to the speaker, however, do not: the subject of these structures varies. Thus, the subject may be the speaker (ll.3,7,14); his eyes (l.4); his limbs (l.5); his 'fire' (l.6), or his heart (ll.10,12).

In the opening quatrain, the speaker incurs both loss and gain through the gaze of his addressee. Light from her eyes pervades his mind, but his own eyes forfeit their sight. More devastating consequences follow; in the second quatrain, the speaker's limbs dissolve and he is divulged a vision of his death. At the same time, however, his fire is lit and he is held to life by the beloved's eyes. In the last line of the octave, as before, the girl's eyes are the subject; the speaker the object. Thus, both cause and effect in the result clause depend on her eyes: ὄνταν μέ δοῦν . . . εἰς τήν ζωήν μέ κρατοῦσιν.

The octave is taken up with an account of the effects on the speaker of his beloved's gaze. In the opening lines of the sextet, the same pattern is followed for the last time: when the girl's eyes are upon him, the speaker's heart is consumed by fire. Lines 10-11 now introduce a new interplay between the speaker and the eyes: νιώθω κι ἄφτει καρδιά μου . . . κ' ἐκεῖνα νιώθουν. For the first time, the girl's eyes cease to be the activating force and react to the speaker's reaction. This is developed in the last three lines, where her eyes become, again for the first time, the object of a participle referring to the speaker, whose heart now πάσκει πολεμώντα τά ποιά . . . In lines 12-13, subject and object change places once more, the eyes resuming the position of subject (καταλυοῦν) and the speaker that of the object (με), but in the closing line these positions are again reversed. Thus subject and object fight out a syntactical duel in the sextet, closing with the speaker's paradoxical grammatical control over the addressee's eyes, which are now the object of a participle where he is subject: ἐκεῖνα στέκω πεθυμώντα.

Desire is only called by name in the sonnet's closing word; the rest of the sonnet has depicted its symptoms, including a vision of death. The symptoms of desire are produced by the addressee's eyes; the speaker describes them and finally gives them a name. By the end of the sonnet, perhaps the result of this naming, the speaker has managed to wrest the position of subject away from the eyes, but the object of his desire is still the very thing that had provoked it in the first place: those teasing eyes. And so, through its dense structure, sonnet 6 describes the vicious circle of desire.

Sonnet 13

Τόσα 'ν ἡ πεθυμιά μου μοδισμένη
θέλοντας μιᾶς πού φεύγει ν' ἀκλουθήσει,
ἡ ποιά τόν πόθον δέν τόν ἔχει χρήση
καί πᾶ πετώντα ὁμπρός λευτερωμένη,
κι ὅσα τῆς παραγγέλλω ν' ἀναμένη
γιά τό καλόν της, δέν θέν ν' ἀγκικήσει
'δέ χαλινάριν σώννει νά τήν στήση
τόσον ἐν ἄχ τόν πόθον νικημένη.

Κι ἄφόν δέν ἡμπορῶ νά τήν κρατήσω,
χρήση 'ναι ν' ἀκλουθῶ γοιόν τυφλωμένον
ἡ ποιά νιώθω στόν ἄδην μέ πεσώννει,
μόνον γιά νά 'ρτω στό δεντρόν νά γγίσω
ἐκεῖνον τόν καρπόν τόν φουμισμένον
ἀπ' ὅτις τόν γευτῇ ποτέ τελειώννει.

Desire in the thirteenth sonnet appears in the opening lines, as πεθυμιά and as πόθος, while death has the last word: τελειώννει. The speaker appears twice in the octave, first in the possessive pronoun (ἡ πεθυμιά μου), and then as subject of the phrase, κι ὅσα τῆς παραγγέλλω ν' ἀναμένη . . . The addressee's position is more prominent: she appears in line 2 (μιᾶς πού φεύγει), and is the subject of three clauses in the next two lines.

The two quatrains are structured by means of the formula τόσα . . . ὅσα (so much . . . that) and this subordinating syntax reflects the relative positions of speaker, desire and the girl to one another. The main subject in the quatrains, longing (πεθυμιά), is subordinate both to the girl whom it pursues and to desire (πόθος) by which it is defeated. The grammatical subject of the main clause is thus semantically subordinate to the subject of secondary clauses: the girl. The girl herself is free from both longing (which pursues her in vain) and desire (to which the speaker's longing is subordinate). As well as foregrounding this multiple subordination, the structure τόσα . . . ὅσα reflects the twofold futility of the speaker's discourse: he addresses not the girl but his own longing, asks it to desist from chasing her, and witnesses, instead, its defeat by desire. So much subordination renders the speaker's discourse powerless.

This process is even more apparent in the sextet, where the speaker acknowledges his inability to influence his situation. In stating this, he becomes syntactical subject of most of the clauses (just as the speaker in sonnet 6 gained syntactical superiority upon diagnosing his own condition). In the first tercet, the speaker is subject of verbs indicating his semantically subordinate position: δέν ἡμπορῶ, ἀκλουθῶ, but in the second tercet, he becomes syntactically subordinated too, in a final clause depending on the verb πεσώννει, the subject of which is, once more, πεθυμιά.

In this sonnet, forces beyond the speaker's control are driving him towards death. The strength of the speaker's longing and of desire is emphasized and linked to Hades (l.11) and dying (l.14). The speaker's awareness of this indissoluble link cannot prevent him from succumbing to his fate. Thus, while sonnet 6 expressed the connections between desire and death as a vicious circle, sonnet 13 expresses an equally inevitable linear progression from one to the other.

3.2.2 Of death and fulfilled desire: sonnet 9

Sonnet 9

Τίντ' ἀφορμή σ' ἐβιάσεν, ριζικόν μου,
στή μάχην δίχως ἄρματα νά δώσω
κεῖ πού νικοῦμαι πάντα, κι ἄ γλιτώσω
θέλ' εἰσταν μέγαν θαῦμα εἰς αὐτόν μου;

Τόσα βιγλῶ κοντά τόν θάνατόν μου
ὅσον πρὸς τήν ἐχθρήν μου νά σιμώσω
κι οὐδέ φελαῖ με ἂν εἶν' καί παραδώσω
σ' αὐτόν της ταπεινά τόν ἑμαυτόν μου.

"Αμποτε ἀφόν τόν θάνατον μοῦ δώσης,
ἂν ἔν καί νά ποθᾶνω λογαριάζη,
τούς πόνους μέ τήν ζωήν μου νά τελεώσης·

ἄμμ' ἀνίσως κ' ἡ γνώση μου ἀγκατιάζη
στό μέτωπόν της τί ἔχει ὁ λογισμός της,
ζώντα κι ἀφόν ποθᾶνω εἶμαι δικός της.

This sonnet is structured on the basis of three self-contained arguments. The first two occupy the first and second quatrains respectively; the third is contained in the first tercet, while the final tercet constitutes a turn, reversing the preceding argumentation.

The opening argument takes the form of a rhetorical question, addressed by the speaker to his fate, and stating the weakness of his own position (μάχη δίχως ἄρματα, κεῖ πού νικοῦμαι πάντα). Syntactically, the speaker is the subject of subordinate clauses, all of which depend on the whim of his fate. Having asserted that defeat is certain, the speaker proceeds to his second contention: that death will be the outcome of the battle. In this

second quatrain, the speaker is the subject of a verb of seeing (βιγλῶ), whose object is his own death. Defeat is inevitable; death is inevitable. The third argument now takes the form of pleading. In this tercet, fate and the girl are the subjects of verbs indicative of power: fate is apparently able to supply death, and the girl to plan it. The speaker, who could do no more than see his death approaching (in the preceding quatrain), now hopes that death will put an end to his sufferings.

Up to this point, the speaker has referred to death explicitly, but only implicitly to desire, expressing the following connection between the two: desire will lead to death which, he hopes will extinguish desire. The final tercet, however, upsets this equation by shifting the focus from the inevitability of death to that of desire itself. The hint that this desire does not exclude fulfilment comes in the words: εἶμαι δικός της. The speaker's position has also undergone an alteration. Hitherto, his actions were subject to the rule of fate or to the girl; his only independent act was passive observation of his own approaching death. The knowledge he lays claim to in these closing lines is the subject of a verb on which the girl's thought-process (λογισμός) depends. Possession by the girl may be ■ part of her own plans, but it is also ■ state the speaker enters with full knowledge. Thus his position changes from an ignorance of causes (in the first quatrain) to a knowledge of his present and future fate. No longer the unwilling pawn of death, he now becomes a voluntary participant, knowing that desire will ultimately triumph. Desire, in this ironic final twist, not only conquers death but also overturns the logic of this sonnet.

3.2.3 Of the living death which is desire: sonnets 23 and 17

Sonnet 23

Ἴτσου νά μπόρουν εἰς χαρτίν νά γράψα
τά πάθη μου γοιόν ἔναι ν' ἀγρικοῦντα,
πῶς οἱ γλυκοί μου ἀστέρες ἐλυποῦντα
■ ἔθελεν πάψει ἀπού μέν ἡ κάψα.

Ἄμμέ γιατί δέν ἤμπορῶ πῶς ἄψα
νά πῶ, τινές ποτέ δέν μ' ἀθθυμοῦντα
ὡς τώρα καί τά μέλη μου σωκιοῦντα
καί τώρα γιά παρηγοριάν ἀξάψα.

Ὁ πόθος μέ τά πάθη μου παϊνᾶται
καί θέλει νά παθιάζω μουλλωμένος·
μόνον ἐκεῖνος θέν νά τά ξηγᾶται.

Κι ἄμποτε νά τά λάλεν ὁ καμένος
ἐκείνης πού γιά μέν δέν μέ λυπᾶται,
δέν εἶμαι ζωντανός δ' ἀποθαμμένος.

This is the only sonnet to propose an escape-route from the vicious circle of desire and death: through writing. Yet even this is doomed, and the speaker depicts himself as the living dead. The sonnet makes play of the gaps between expression and silence or wishes and actual powers. The power to express would set the speaker free from torment, but Desire (personified) wishes him to suffer silently. Desire itself will boast about the speaker's pain, instead.

The speaker's wish to write represents, from the syntactical point of view, an attempt to reduce his torment to the position of object: νά γράψω τά πάθη μου. Desire, conversely, enjoys the speaker's sufferings as an object in its own discourse, thereby succeeding where the speaker fails. By placing his πάθη in the position of grammatical object, the speaker also aspires at occupying the position of object, this time of a verb indicative of concerned remembering: ἀθυμοῦντα. Care, memory, and pity (on the part of his stars) are the forces which would be set in motion by a written discourse which had πάθη as its object, whereas the inability to express places suffering in a much more powerful syntactical position (since it is implicit in the verbs σωκιοῦντα and ἀξάψα). Thus, the octave contains an interplay between torment in the positions of object and verb, and the speaker in the positions of subject (of the verb 'to write') and object (of the negative construction 'not being remembered').

The sextet introduces a new subject, which replaces the speaker, reducing him to object. This usurping subject is desire, and it contrives to perform two verbs of expressing: παϊνᾶται, ξηγᾶται, with torment as their direct object. At the same time, these verbs subordinate the speaker, who becomes the subject of a secondary clause dependent on the wishes of desire: θέλει νά παθιάζω μουλλωμένος. The verb which accompanies the discourse of

desire expresses wishing (θέλει, θέν) in contrast to the verb accompanying the speaker's attempts at expression: νά μπόρουν δέν ἡμπορῶ.

Unable to realise his wish for expression, and subordinated to the wishes of desire, the speaker implicitly expresses a wish of his own in the two penultimate lines: ἄμποτε νά . . ., and thereby attempts to subordinate desire (ἄμποτε νά τά λάλεν) and direct its discourse towards a recipient. This would provide an indirect object for the discourse of desire (νά τά λάλεν . . . ἐκείνης), where hitherto there was none (παϊνᾶται, ξηγᾶται). Even this wish, however, is expressed in terms which indicate his powerlessness. In these two lines, the speaker once more attempts both to conduct the discourse (cf. νά γράψω, l.1) and to assume the position of object of pity (cf. ἀθυμοῦντα, l.6), but knows he must fail, since the subject of the discourse is now well-established: desire. In the last line, the speaker becomes the subject of a negative verb within a doubly negative structure: δέν εἶμαι ζωντανός δ' ἀποθαμμένος. This is the only position permissible now; he has tried all the others and failed.

Sonnet 17

Ἄν ἔν πικρός ὁ πόθος γοῖόν λαλοῦσιν,
πῶς ἔν γλυκιά τά πάθη τά δικά του;
κι ἂν ἔν γλυκός, πῶς ἔν σκληρή καρδιά του,
κι ἂν ἔν σκληρός, πῶς ὅλοι τόν ποθοῦσι;

Ἄδ δέν ἔν ἐμπιστός γοῖόν τόν θωροῦσιν,
γιά τίνα νά μετέχουνται μιτά του;
ἂν ἔν κ' εἶναι φτηνός εἰς τά καλά του,
γιατί παραπονοῦνται ὅσοι ἀγαποῦσι;

Ἀνίσως καί τόν κάθαναν πληγώννη
πῶς δέν εἶναι μιτά του κακιομένος;
ἄμ' ὅλοι τ' ἀκλουθοῦν ὅσους κορπώννει;

Ἐννοια γλυκιά μέ τήν πικριά σμιμένη
τούς ἀγαποῦν εἰς τοῦτον ἀποσώννει
καί δέν νιώθουν πῶς ζοῦν ἀποθαμμένοι.

Sonnet 17 concludes with a paradox similar to that of sonnet 23, describing those who dwell in the realm of desire as alive but dead:

ζούν ἀποθαμμένοι. It is the only sonnet of the twelve examined here to make no use of the first person, tracing the contours of desire without recourse to personal experience. In place of a speaker, there is an interplay between desire (in the third person singular) and people in love (occupying the third person plural).

The octave and opening tercet set out a series of questions, throughout which desire is shown to defeat attempts by logic and even language to define it: "Ἄν ἔν πικρός ὁ πόθος γοιόν λαλοῦσιν/πῶς ἔν γλυκιά τά πάθη τά δικά του;", and so forth. The writer attempts to define desire in one word or phrase at a time, either directly attributing this to others (γοιόν λαλοῦσιν) or else implying it is common knowledge or opinion (γοιόν τόν θωροῦσιν). Each hypothetical definition of desire in turn is invalidated by the question with which the writer follows it. The questions highlight aspects of desire which contradict the definition (πικρός-γλυκιά) or cannot be squared with it (γλυκός-σκληρή καρδιά). The illogical conduct of people in love is conveyed in the same format: "Ἄδ δέν ἔν ἐμπιστός γοιόν τόν θωροῦσιν/γιά τίνα νά μετέχουνται μιτά του;

Having demonstrated the failure of language and logic to deal with desire, the speaker offers, in the final tercet, an alternative discourse (or interpretation) of his own. Instead of attempting to support a one-sided definition of desire, he offers an interpretation based on acknowledging the contradictions: "Ἐννοια γλυκιά μέ τήν πικριά συμμένη. This leads to the sonnet's closing paradox: people in love ζούν ἀποθαμμένοι. Thus, while invalidating positive, defining discourse and proposing in its place a discourse rooted in contradiction, the sonnet makes one more implicit statement about desire: that it cannot be talked about except in relation to death.

Conclusion

Desire remains, then, undefined in the Cypriot sonnets which describe, instead, its symptoms and effects. Comparisons between desire and death implicitly confirm the impossibility of reaching a satisfactory definition, constituting as they do, a metaphor whose vehicle is the unknown. Through their presentation of

various configurations of desire and death, the ways in which their refurring motifs interact, and such phenomena as the speaker's shifts of position (from subject to object), the sonnets demonstrate the impossibility of pinpointing the nature of desire, drawing attention, instead, to its structures.

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The dates of Procopius' works*

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The writings of Procopius have long been a subject of controversy. First there were disputes over the authorship of the *Anecdota*, which finally was assigned to Procopius. Then arose the question of when his various works were written, sparking a debate which still attracts scholarly attention; this paper aims to contribute to this debate, while extending the scope of the discussion to cover all Procopius' later works. It may be noted further that the discussions over the dating of Procopius' works takes place against the background of continuing reassessments of the latter half of Justinian's reign: it has been argued that a fusion of classical and Christian culture took place in the sixth century, but the processes of this transition remain unclear. A key element in this discussion is the production of literary works, which appears to have tailed off markedly towards the end of the reign of Justinian; hence whether Procopius' works should be placed in the early or the late 550s is of import to this wider field of discussion.¹

In recent years the orthodoxy which had prevailed concerning the date of Procopius' works has attracted considerable criticism. Objections have been raised not only to the placing of the *de Aedificiis* to c.554 but also to assigning the *Anecdota* to 550.²

* I should like to thank Dr J.D. Howard-Johnston and Prof C. Mango for their help in the preparation of this article; for its shortcomings neither is responsible.

1. On the debate over the authorship of the *Anecdota*, cf. A. Cameron, *Procopius and the Sixth Century*, London 1985, 49-50. On the matter of cultural change in the sixth century, cf. A. Cameron, 'Images of Authority: Elites and Icons in the late sixth-century Byzantium', *PP* 84 (1979) 3-35 (reprinted in *Continuity and change in sixth-century Byzantium* [London 1981] XVIII), esp. 9-13 and *The Mediterranean World in Late Antiquity, A.D. 395-600* (London 1993) 125-127; also R. Scott, 'Malalas, the *Secret History* and Justinian's Propaganda', *DOP* 39 (1985) 99-109 at 105-106.

2. On the challenge to the 554 date for the *de Aed.*, cf. M. Whitby, 'The Sangarius bridge and Procopius', *JHS* 105 (1985) 129-148; on the *Anecdota*, cf. R. Scott, 'Justinian's Coinage and Easter Reforms, and the date of the *Secret History*', *BMGS* 11 (1987) 215-221.

It is the aim of this paper to come to the defence of the traditional dates for these works, and also to consider briefly how the final book of the *Bella* fits in to this picture.

A brief review of the general consensus on the date of Procopius' works is in order. There has never been much doubt that the first seven books of the *Bella* were published around 551: difficulties only start to emerge with the remaining works. Haury's powerful arguments for placing the *Anecdota* in 550 need hardly be rehearsed again here; the work has to be placed in 550 or 558, given the mention in it — on more than one occasion — of the span of 32 years for the reign of Justinian. And since not insubstantial sections of the work are spent dealing with Justin's reign, and events between 550 and 558 appear not to be recorded, Haury's case has met almost universal approval.³ With the *de Aedificiis*, however, a consensus has never really been achieved: Haury wanted to place it in 560, while being prepared to date its first book somewhat earlier. Since he made his case, arguments have been put forward both in favour of his later dating and for a rather earlier composition of the work — c.554.⁴ Nor has unanimity prevailed in the case of *Bella VIII*: the standard view holds that it was published in 553, but at least one scholar has preferred to date it to 557. Thus any analysis of the dating of the *de Aedificiis* and *Anecdota* would do well to give consideration to *Bella VIII* as well.⁵

3. For Haury's arguments regarding the date of the *Anecdota*, cf. his *Procopiana* (Programm des Königlichen Realgymnasiums [Augsburg 1890/1]) 9-26; on the *de Aed.*, 27-34. Cf. e.g. Bury's acceptance of Haury's case, *History of the Later Roman Empire* (New York 1958) 422 n.2, where he also gives the references to the passages referring to the 32 years — xviii.33, xxiii.1, xxiv.29.

On *Bella I-VII*, cf. Cameron, *Procopius*, 8 (putting them in 550), cf. Bury, 422; E. Stein, *Histoire du Bas-Empire* 2 (Amsterdam 1949) 717, and J.A.S. Evans, *Procopius* (New York 1972) 41 in favour of 550-551.

4. Favouring a later dating — Bury, 428, G. Downey, 'The composition of Procopius, *De Aedificiis*', *TAPA* 78 (1947) 171-183; Evans, *Procopius*, 43-44, and 'The dates of the *Anecdota* and *De Aedificiis* of Procopius', *CP* 64 (1969) 29-30, and (most recently) M. Whitby, 'The Sangarius bridge and Procopius'. Preferring an earlier dating — Stein, 722 and Excursus V, 837; most recently Cameron, *Procopius*, 9-11.

5. *Bella VIII*, dated by Bury to 553, 422; also Stein, 717 and Cameron, 8, puts it in 554. Evans, however, argues for 556/7, *Procopius*, 43 and n.68.

The works will be considered in (the traditional) chronological order: first, therefore, the date of the *Anecdota* must be reviewed. Haury's placing of the work in 550 had remained unchallenged until Roger Scott put forward two arguments for returning to the once accepted date of 558/559. The first lies in the assertion in the *Anecdota* that Justinian debased the coinage (xxv.11-12): there is no record elsewhere of such a debasement having occurred before 550, while there is a notice in Malalas (p.486) for the year 553, which reports rioting over the debasing of coinage. As a result of the riots, the Emperor reversed the debasement, and reverted to the former system. The second argument he deploys concerns Justinian's insistence that the Jews defer their celebration of the Passover until the Christian Easter, should the former occur before the latter (xxviii.16-18).⁶

First the matter of the debasement of the coinage must be analysed. Clearly if Scott's assertion is correct, then it would indeed be difficult to date the *Anecdota* to 550. But there is little to support his argument, which relies on the supposition that Justinian cannot have tried to debase the coinage at any point in his reign — or during that of Justin — before 553. For it is surely difficult to argue that because only one other source refers to debasement under Justinian, and places it in 553, that Procopius too must be referring to the same occasion. Given the paucity of material surviving from the sixth century on such economic affairs, it is far more probable that we are dealing with two separate initiatives by the Emperor; alternatively, Malalas may simply have misplaced his entry. The likelihood of this is increased further by the fact that Malalas reports that Justinian reversed his initial decision, whereas no such *volte face* is to be found in the *Anecdota*.

Furthermore, although Scott notes that Bury rejected Procopius' statement concerning the debasement, he fails to observe that A.H.M. Jones was prepared to accept it — and placed the change around the year 539. A close examination of the

6. 'Justinian's Coinage and Easter Reforms', 217, for the arguments on the coinage; 217-221 on Passover and Easter; Malalas, *Chronographia*, ed. L. Dindorf (Bonn 1831).

passage in Procopius moreover favours the view that the changes described there — the reduction of the number of *folles* to each *solidus* — would in fact have been to the advantage of the poorer sections of society, since this effectively increased the value of the *folles* or obol at the expense of the *solidus*. Hence Procopius notes how those with gold coin lost out (xxv.12). In Malalas, however, it is reported that it was the *πρωχοι* who rioted against the debasement carried out by Justinian. Again therefore the evidence points to the need to distinguish between the debasement recorded by Procopius, and that reported in Malalas.⁷

Second, the report of Procopius concerning the Passover. His notice is confined to a brief entry complaining of Justinian's insistence that the Jews postpone their observance of the Passover, should it occur before Easter, and the prosecutions which followed on account of Jewish non-compliance (xxviii.16-19). Now Scott spends the greater part of his article describing the proceedings of a conference which met in 553 to determine the date of Easter, based largely on a late Armenian source.⁸ While there is no need to doubt that such a meeting did indeed take place in this year, and did deal with the dating of Easter in subsequent years, it is hard to see how this relates to what Procopius has to say. For Procopius' assertion to be valid for the period before 550 all that needs to be established is that at least in one year — and preferably more — the Jewish Passover took place before Christian Easter.

7. Scott, 'Justinian's Coinage and Easter Reforms', 217 (cf. also his article, 'Malalas, the *Secret History* and Justinian's Propaganda', 101), noting the objections of Bury, 427, n.1. In fact Bury was referring to *Anecd.* xxii.38 and not the passage discussed by Scott, although Procopius at xxii.38 is presumably referring to the effective devaluation of the *solidus* as compared to the *folles* described in detail at xxv.11-12, cf. the note of Dewing, *Procopius — The Anecdota* (London 1935) 266 n.1.

A.H.M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire*, (Oxford 1964) 443-444 and 1185 n.81 on this passage, also P. Grierson, 'The *Tablettes Albertini* and the value of the *solidus* in the fifth and sixth centuries A.D.', *JRS* 49 (1959) 73-81 at 75 and 78-79. Grierson places the 'calling down' of the *solidus* — rejecting the term debasement, 75 n.13 — to the period 538/543 from Procopius' account, involving Theodora and Peter Barsymes, suggesting 539 on account of the introduction of heavier copper coinage in that year, 79; M. Hendy, *Studies in the Byzantine Monetary Economy* (Cambridge 1985) 477, agrees with this dating, which is also confirmed by numismatic evidence, cf. P. Grierson, *Byzantine Coins* (London 1982) 60-61. Cf. Stein, 766-769 and 766 n.4, 767 n.1 and 769 n.1 (who also separates Procopius' report from that of Malalas).

8. 'Justinian's Coinage and Easter Reforms', 217-221.

And in fact in the vast majority of cases, Jewish Passover does precede Easter; Scott's arguments are therefore in no way cogent, and Procopius could quite easily have made these complaints in 550.⁹

Scott's arguments thus do not suffice to overturn Haury's hypothesis. They are further weakened by the failure of Procopius to mention any of the disasters which overtook the empire between 550 and 558/559, such as (to give but one example) the earthquakes reported by Malalas, p.485. In favour of Haury's dating, moreover, Procopius does detail the earthquakes which struck during Justin's reign (Malalas, p.418; *Anecd.* xviii.38-44). Yet another powerful argument deployed by Haury is the fact that the opening words of the *Anecdota* — on how Procopius had written up the history of the Roman empire until that time — would simply be nonsensical for a work composed in 558/559, since it would represent a patent untruth; it fits most satisfactorily, however, with a date of 550/551.¹⁰

Next, there is the matter of *Bella* VIII. This can upon first examination safely be placed before *de Aedificiis*, since there are two passages in it which heavily favour such a view. First, there is the fact that at VIII.vii.8-9 Procopius states that it is unknown whither the river in Dara flows; at *de Aed.* II.ii.15-16, on the other hand, he tells of an incident which demonstrated that the river ended up at Theodosiopolis (Resaina). Second, at *de Aed.* VI.i.8, concerning the geography of the Euxine (Black) Sea, he refers the reader to his discussion of the matter in his *Bella*; this

9. I have so far been unable to find out the dates of Passover between 518 and 550; but an examination of the 30 years from 343, to be found in V. Grumel, *Traité d'études Byzantines I — La Chronologie* (Paris 1958) 41, shows that in 16 cases Passover coincides with Easter six times, while on the remaining 10 occasions Passover precedes Easter. For a table of the dates of Easter between 518 and 550, cf. 269-270.

10. Haury, *Procopiana* 1, 10 on the earthquakes and for the point that all the disasters reported at *Anecd.* v.10-vi.28 date from Justin's reign, cf. 18-19 for the omission of disasters post-550. On 22 he makes the point concerning the introduction of the *Anecdota*.

Whitby, 'Sangarius bridge', 144, rejects the cross-references which have been adduced to place the *Anecd.* after the *de Aed.*; his view, following Haury, that the possible backward reference at xviii.38 (concerning the flood of the river Scirtus at Edessa) refers to a lacuna at *Bella* II.xii.29, should be accepted, cf. Scott, 'Justinian's Coinage and Easter Reforms', 216 n.6.

can only refer to *Bella* VIII.vi, where the Black Sea is discussed at length. It may be noted in passing that Scott tentatively suggested a couple of parallels between *Bella* VIII and the *Anecdota*, implying that the latter was referring to the former; these are not convincing, however. To take but one of them, there is the case of the eunuch Euphratas: it is true that he is mentioned in both works, but beyond that there is little to be said. At *Bella* VIII.iii.18-19 Procopius describes how at some point in his reign Justinian despatched the Abasgian Euphratas to his homeland to put an end to the process of castrating children to become eunuchs; while at *Anecd.* xxix.13-14 he reports how the Emperor seized Euphratas' estates upon his death. This clearly is of no help in establishing the relative dating of the works.¹¹

So far then the date of 554, usually offered for *Bella* VIII, seems almost unassailable: the last event recounted in the book is the defeat of the Goths by Narses at Mons Lactarius in spring that year. But there remains a problem, raised by Evans, in that at *Bella* VIII.xv.17 Procopius refers to the Persians receiving four *centenaria* from the Romans for a period of eleven and a half years; and it is clear from his discussion of the agreements made with Khusrō that these payments started in 545. Arguing on the basis of this passage, Evans sought to place *Bella* VIII in late 556 or 557. Since he also preferred to date the *de Aedificiis* to 560, this presented no problems for him with regard to the references back to *Bella* VIII.¹²

This is not an insoluble problem, however, for those wishing to place the *de Aedificiis* in c.554. Indeed there exists a parallel problem at *Bella* I.xvii.40, where Procopius describes how the redoubtable Lakhmid chieftain al-Mundhir brought the Roman

state to its knees for a period of fifty years. Now it is known that al-Mundhir died in battle against his Ghassanid adversary, al-Harith, in June 554, and it is clear that he took control of the Lakhmids around 505. Procopius' figure of fifty years is thus remarkably accurate — still more so, bearing in mind that *Bella* I-VII were published in 550/551. It is scarcely possible to redate these books to 554, nor is it credible that Procopius revised this figure of fifty years. The answer must lie in this case with Procopius' desire to emphasise this point — the might of al-Mundhir — who by the late 540s had reigned for over forty years. Hence the figure of fifty years was only a slight exaggeration, which proved (coincidentally) extremely accurate.¹³

A similar solution may be proposed for the passage concerning Roman payments in *Bella* VIII.xv. Procopius knew in 554 that the Romans had handed over the twenty *centenaria* to cover the next five years (cf. VIII.xv.6), and hence he could write as if this term of five years had come to an end (xv.17). If the case for the earlier dating of the *de Aedificiis* is accepted, then it is necessary to suppose that this interpretation of VIII.xv.17 is correct; it is at any rate certain that *Bella* VIII must predate the *de Aedificiis*.¹⁴

Lastly, and most controversially, the dating of the *de Aedificiis*. Michael Whitby has argued strongly that the work must be dated to c.560 on account of the reference in it to the building work in progress on a bridge over the river Sangarius (V.iii.8-11). For in Theophanes' *Chronographia* (A.M. 6052) there is an entry which tells of the start of work on the bridge, thus apparently implying that Procopius must have been writing after this year — A.D. 559/560; Theophanes, according to Whitby, was deriving

11. Scott, 'Justinian's Coinage and Easter Reforms', 216 n.5, for the passages; the others are *Bella* VIII.xxv.7ff. and *Anecd.* xiii.26, which also caught the attention of Dewing, *Procopius — The Anecdota*, 165 n.1. The passage in the *Anecdota* refers to his previous works, it is true, but I see no reason to connect it to Justinian's decision to play off the Lombards and Gepids against one another: it just refers to his faithlessness generally — as displayed, for instance, in the abandonment of the Iberians to the Persians, despite the pledges given to them — cp. *Bella* I.xii.5 on the pledges with I.xxii.16, which is generally taken to imply the return of Iberia to the Persian orbit, cf. Stein, 294.

12. Evans, *Procopius*, 43.

13. I. Shahīd (I. Kavar) sought to change the publication date of *Bella* I at any rate on the basis of this figure — cf. 'Arethas son of Jabalah', *JAOS* 75 (1955) 211 n.37 and 'Procopius and Arethas again', *B* 41 (1971) 318. On the reign of al-Mundhir, cf. also G. Rothstein, *Die Dynastie der Lakhmiden von al Hira* (Berlin 1899) 70.

Given that Procopius refers at the opening of *Bella* VIII to the publication of the previous seven books, and how they covered the period up to 549 (i.1-3), the argument for assigning the publication of I-VII also to 554 must carry little weight.

14. Evans, *Procopius*, 138 n.68, noted this alternative interpretation of the passage. On the Roman payments to the Persians, which started in 545, cf. Bury, *HLRE*, 117 and n.3.

his information from Malalas at this point, and so is deserving of the credence generally attached to Malalas' entries. This is the chief reason advanced by Whitby for his later dating of the work, but it will be seen to be unconvincing for several reasons.^{14a}

First, however, the arguments in favour of an earlier dating of the *de Aedificiis* must be put forward. Stein's reasoning in favour of an earlier dating relied chiefly on *argumenta ex silentio*: he pointed to Procopius' failure to mention either the revolts of the Samaritans or the Tzani in the 550s, as well as the still more remarkable omission of any reference to the collapse of the dome of S. Sophia in May 558. While it is possible to argue that the first two events might well be omitted in a panegyric work such as the *de Aedificiis*, the emphasis placed by Procopius on Justinian's involvement in the construction of the dome is difficult to account for if he was writing after its collapse. Whitby offers two solutions to this. Either book I was written before the rest of the work, as Haury purposed, or Procopius was writing around 560/1, but chose not to draw attention to the new dome, perhaps not yet decorated. Of these two alternatives Whitby appears to prefer the second, although it is fraught with problems.¹⁵

Several other entries in the work may fruitfully be brought to bear. First, the defences of the Thracian Chersonese. Before Justinian undertook his extensive work on the fortifications there, it appears that they had deteriorated to a poor state of repair: in the course of the Hun attack of 540 the invaders were able to drive the Romans from the walls without difficulty, and to

ravage the Chersonese as they pleased (Procopius, *Bella* II.iv.8, cp. *De Aed.* IV.x.9).¹⁶

In their attack of spring 559, however, the Kotrigurs were driven back from the walls of the Chersonese by the resolute action of the Roman defenders under Germanus, son of Dorotheus.¹⁷ Agathias (V.xxi-xxiii.5) describes how the invaders failed in all their attempts to turn the walls, and it may plausibly be supposed that he is referring to the fortifications described by Procopius, and that in this case Justinian's work proved its worth. Hence it would appear that Justinian's work on the Chersonese wall was carried out at some stage between the two raids of 540 and 559.¹⁸ Furthermore, although Whitby considers that a slightly earlier passage in *de Aedificiis* (IV.ix.8), concerning an enemy overpowering the guards on the Anastasian Wall, should be taken as referring to the 559 attack, in fact Procopius only refers generally to enemy attacks — ἐπειδάν; and even if he has in mind a particular invasion, it is more likely to be that of the Slavs in 550, reported at *Wars* VII.xl.43-44.¹⁹

Now if it is supposed that Procopius were composing the *De Aedificiis* around 559/560, it is difficult to see how he could refer to the 540 raid as 'recent' (ἐνῆχρον, x.9); and it is still harder to understand how he could fail to note the success of Germanus in his defence of the peninsula. For it would be perverse in the extreme in a panegyric work to prefer to mention a failure in the Roman defences than a success achieved by the Emperor's building programme.

16. For a more detailed consideration of these walls in Justinian's reign, cf. G. Greatrex, 'Procopius and Agathias on the defence of the Thracian Chersonese', *Proceedings of the 28th Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies* (1993) (forthcoming).

17. Germanus 4 in *Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire* (PLRE) 3, ed. J. Martindale (Cambridge 1992) 528.

18. Agathias, *Historiae*, ed. R. Keydell (Berlin 1967). On the dates of these raids, cf. Stein, 309-310, for the first raid in 540 (which Procopius attributes to Huns and Stein to Bulgars), and 536-540 on the second. B. Croke, 'The date of the "Anastasian Long Wall" in Thrace', *GRBS* 23 (1982) 59-78 at 63, places the first attack in 541; Procopius, however, *Wars* II.iv.4-12, dates this Hunnic raid *before* Khusr's attack, which implies it may even have taken place in 539.

19. M. Whitby, 'The Long Walls of Constantinople' *B* 55 (1985) 560-583 at 582 n81, for this point, against Stein, 837.

14a. Theophanes, *Chronographia*, ed. C. de Boor (Leipzig 1883) I, 234.

15. Whitby, 'Sangarius bridge', 142-143. For Stein's argument on the dating, cf. Stein II, 837; cf. Evans, 'The dates of the *Anecdota* and *De Aedificiis* of Procopius', for another rejection of these two arguments. Although Michael Whitby considers it plausible that reference to the collapse could be avoided, 'Sangarius bridge', 143; Mary Whitby, 'The occasion of Paul the Silentiary's *Ekphrasis* of S. Sophia', *CQ* 35 (1985), 215-228 at 220, argues that the collapse had occurred too recently to be omitted by Paul; it is difficult then to see how Procopius could have failed to refer to it.

A further point in favour of an earlier dating is Procopius' allusion to the conspiracy against Justinian (I.i.16) of 548/9 (cf. *Bella* VII.xxxii). He specifically states that those convicted of plotting against the Emperor were pardoned, and were even still in possession of their positions as generals and their consular rank: such detail would be out of place twelve years after the plot, not to mention inaccurate. And in fact the only conspirator known to have held a generalship after the plot, and who had also been an honorary consul, is Artabanes; he participated in Narses' campaigns in Italy, but is unattested after 554. Thus Artabanes presumably gave up his command at this point, and Procopius' statement can hardly have been written after this date.²⁰

Against these powerful arguments, the case put by Whitby must be considered. Now the key to Whitby's argument for the later dating of the work lies in Procopius' reference to the construction of the Sangarius bridge: it is thus upon the entry of Theophanes for A.M. 6052 alone that the case for dating the *De Aedificiis* to c.560 essentially depends. The reliability of the chronicler in this case has been strongly defended by Whitby, but difficulties surround his exiguous entry for this year. It is extremely doubtful that it does come from Malalas, since it has no parallel in any of the last three books of Malalas in recording the *beginning* of a particular building project. On the other hand, entries in Theophanes can be found soon after the death of Justinian, which record the commencement of other building enterprises in very similar terms to that of A.M. 6052, such as at A.M. 6061 and 6062.²¹ Furthermore, despite the strong defence made by Whitby of Theophanes' chronology during these years, it seems clear that he has misplaced his entry concerning the revival of

20. Cf. *PLRE* 3, s.v. Artabanes 2 for his career and titles; Whitby, 'Sangarius bridge', 146 n.88, does not note this passage among those which can be dated to post-545 in *De Aed.* The other conspirators, Arsaces and Chanaranges, enjoyed much less illustrious careers both before and after the plot; nonetheless I see no reason why the Chanaranges who served under Narses in Italy in 554 (Agathias II.vi.4) should not be the same as the one who took part in the plot, despite their separation in *PLRE* 3, Chanaranges 2 and 3.

21. Whitby, 'Sangarius bridge', 137 n.29 points to a passage in Theophanes A.M. 6051 which gives the final height of S. Sophia's dome before the work was completed; but the entry itself is concerned with the collapse of the dome, whereas in the case

the plague in Cilicia and Anazarbus: he dates this to December A.M. 6053 (A.D. 560), although it probably took place in 558.²² And if it is supposed that Theophanes' notice is correctly placed, is it credible that such a major enterprise, started in 559/60, could be brought to completion by January 562? (a date established by the *Ekphrasis* of Paul the Silentiary). Whitby points to the speed with which Dara was constructed under Anastasius, but even it took longer to build. Moreover, on account of the earthquake of December 557, it would hardly have been possible to concentrate all available resources on the project: much of the capital was in need of reconstruction, which could only hold up the less immediately necessary work on the Sangarius bridge.²³

Furthermore, with regard to the bridge, another argument against such a late construction date can be found in this background to the end of Justinian's reign: for just as Cameron argues that this would be an odd context for the production of a work such as the *De Aedificiis*, it may be observed how peculiar a time it would also be for such a major building project to be undertaken — in the wake of the damaging Kotrigur attack, closely preceded by a major earthquake. Much rebuilding work was thus forced on the empire in the late 550s, such as that on S. Sophia itself. The initiation of such an enterprise as bridging the

of the Sangarius bridge there does not appear to be any reason for drawing attention to the start of construction work.

I am indebted to Dr J.D. Howard-Johnston for the point regarding similar entries later in Theophanes; yet another reference to the start of building work can be found at A.M. 6064.

22. Whitby, 'Sangarius bridge', 140; L. Conrad, 'The Plague in Bilad al-Sham in Pre-Islamic Times', in *Proceedings of the Symposium on Bilad al-Sham during the Byzantine Period*, 2, eds. M.A. Bakhit and M. Asfour (Amman 1986) 143-163 at 148, citing evidence from Evagrius (IV.29) and Agathias (V.x.3-4). Conrad considers Theophanes to describe the plague as afflicting Cilicia, Anazarbus and Antioch, although the text could be read as stating that only an earthquake (and not a plague as well) struck Antioch, A.M. 6053. This error of Theophanes contrasts with Whitby's assertion that Theophanes is never more than one year out in his chronology for this period.

23. For the terminus date, cf. Mary Whitby, 'The Occasion of Paul the Silentiary's *Ekphrasis*', 216. For the destruction wrought by the earthquake of December 557, cf. Malalas, 488-489, Theophanes A.M. 6050.

Sangarius at this juncture is hard to explain; on the other hand, however, the repair work necessary following the earthquake and the Kotrigur invasion would help to account for how it might be that a project mentioned around 554 was only being completed around 560.²⁴

A rejoinder may also be offered to an ancillary argument of Whitby put forward to support his later dating: he connects the church built at Edessa recorded at *de Aed.* II.vii.6 with a Syriac anthem, in which the bishop Amazon/Amazonius is mentioned, celebrating the completion of the building. He believes that Amazonius was bishop between 553 and 560, and therefore reckons that the church must have been completed between these dates; furthermore, since Amazonius was away at the fifth ecumenical Council at Constantinople in 553, he is inclined to place the completion of the church later during Amazonius' episcopacy rather than earlier. But this argument too is far from secure: according to Andrew Palmer, 'we might incline to place Amazonius' consecration nearer 540 than 552'. Palmer further considers that the rebuilding of the church in Edessa, destroyed in the flood of 525, was probably not completed until the 540s or 550s. The important point arising from Palmer's article is that no support for a completion date in the late 550s can be derived from the reference to Amazonius in the Syriac anthem: if anything, it favours an earlier dating for the *de Aedificiis*.²⁵

A few other passages in the *de Aedificiis* are of help in attempting to date the composition of the work: these are usefully assembled by Whitby in his article. Two of these references serve

24. Cameron, *Procopius*, 10-11; on the damage caused by the earthquake, see note 23. Even if Theophanes' entry is completely misplaced, that the building of the Sangarius bridge was in progress around 560 is almost certain, given the mention of its completion in Paul's *Ekphrasis*, ed. P. Friedländer (Berlin 1912) 928-933.

25. Whitby, 'Sangarius Bridge', 146 nn.85-86, for his arguments. A. Palmer's article — 'The Inauguration Anthem of Hagia Sophia in Edessa: a New Edition and Translation with Historical and Architectural Notes and a Comparison with a Contemporary Constantinopolitan Kontakion', (with L. Rodley), *BMGS* 12 (1988) 117-167; 126-127 for the date of Amazonius' consecration — the chronicle of Jacob of Edessa places his episcopacy between 540 and 552; also 129 for the completion of the church in the 540s or 550s.

to necessitate a date after 550/551: on the one hand, there is the mention of the capture of Topirus by the Slav marauders in 550, reported in *de Aed.* IV.xi.14-17 and in the *Bella* at VII.xxxviii.9-19. The strengthening of the city's fortifications described in *de Aed.* must postdate this capture, which Procopius moreover places οὐ πολλῶ ἔμπροσθεν (IV.xi.14); such an indicator of chronology, although unhelpfully vague, at any rate favours an earlier dating for the work. The other reference is at II.xi.1 (also II.xi.8-9), where the repairs to the city walls of Chalcis are reported: inscriptions discovered at Chalcis (Kinnesrin) attest building work on the walls in 550-551, thus confirming this *terminus post quem* for the composition of the work.²⁶

Such then is the case for preferring the earlier dating for the *de Aedificiis*. More attention has been paid to points of detail than to general questions, which might equally be brought to bear: thus it seems remarkable that if Procopius had lived until the early 560s he would have confined his writings to the *de Aedificiis* without extending his narrative of the *Wars* in any way.

In conclusion therefore the views of the present writer may be summarised as follows. *Bella* I-VII appeared in 550-551, almost simultaneously with the completion of the *Anecdota*. Hence Procopius could indeed refer at the outset of the *Anecdota* to his history of the Roman empire extending up to the present day. But since the work was not destined for public circulation, when he came to write his continuation of the *Bella* he was able to use almost the same words in the introduction. For in both cases the passage is appropriate, as it describes how he intends henceforth to jettison the technique of separating events geographically; and in both the *Anecdota* and *Bella* VIII the method employed in *Bella* I-VII is indeed abandoned. Not long after the appearance of *Bella*

26. Whitby, 'Sangarius Bridge', 146 n.88, for these post-545 passages. On the walls of Chalcis, cf. Pülhorn's note in O. Veh, *Prokop Bauten* (Munich 1977) 428: the inscriptions may be found in W.K. Prentice, *Greek and Latin Inscriptions (Publ. of Amer. Arch. Exp. to Syria III)* (New York 1908) nos. 305-306. Note also Downey, 'The Composition of Procopius *de Aedificiis*', 175, on the double entry concerning the city.

VIII followed the *de Aedificiis*, which was able in one case at least — the destination of the river at Dara — to update the information given in *Bella* VIII. Future debate on the dating of these works, it is to be hoped, will not confine itself to individual cases, such as the oft-cited Sangarius bridge, but will attempt to take a more rounded view of all these three later works of Procopius.²⁷

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27. If the *de Aed.* is placed in c.554, this has the consequence of making the identification of Procopius the historian with the urban prefect of 562 that much more unlikely: cf. Cameron, 12 and *PLRE* 3, s.v. Procopius 3. Given the apparently unfinished nature of the *de Aed.*, it is probably best therefore to follow what Cameron describes at 'the most economical hypothesis' — that Procopius died in or soon after 554, *loc. cit.* For some interesting suggestions concerning the relationship between the prefaces of *Bella* VIII and the *Anecdota*, cf. Bury, 422 n.2.

Synônê: re-considering ■ problematic term of middle Byzantine fiscal administration

JOHN HALDON

The history of Byzantine fiscal administration, as is well-known, is still an area in which many problems remain to be resolved. In 1880 the Russian Byzantinist V.G. Vassilievsky, one of the first historians to address them seriously, described Byzantine fiscal structures as labyrinthine; other scholars have not disagreed.¹ But as a result of the work of successive generations, we are in a much better position today to understand the fundamental lines of development of late Roman and Byzantine fiscal arrangements, and in particular to follow the evolution of middle and later Byzantine fiscal administrative structures out of the situation that prevailed in the later Roman period, especially from the fifth and sixth centuries.² Many problems remain, of course,

1. V.G. Vassilievsky, 'Materialy k vnutrennej istorii vizantijskogo gosudarstva', *Zurnal ministerstva narodnogo Prosvescenija* 210 (1880) 98-170, 355-400, see p.372. Cf. F. Dölger, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der byzantinischen Finanzverwaltung besonders des 10. und 11. Jahrhunderts* (Byzantinisches Archiv 9) (Munich 1927/Hildesheim 1960) 9-12. My thanks to Archie Dunn and Alan Harvey for helpful suggestions and criticism on the following.

2. The best-known works: J.B. Bury, *The Imperial Administrative System in the Ninth Century, with a revised text of the Kletorologion of Philotheos* (British Academy Supplemental Papers I) (London 1911); E. Stein, *Studien zur Geschichte des byzantinischen Reiches vornehmlich unter den Kaisern Justinus II und Tiberius Konstantinus* (Stuttgart 1919); *idem*, 'Untersuchungen zur spätbyzantinischen Verfassungs- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte', *Mitteilungen zur osmanischen Geschichte* 2 (1923/5) 1-62; Dölger, *Finanzverwaltung*; G. Ostrogorsky, 'Die ländliche Steuergemeinde des byzantinischen Reiches im X. Jahrhundert', *Vierteljahrsschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte* 20 (1927) 1-108; J. Karayannopoulos, *Das Finanzwesen des frühbyzantinischen Staates* (Munich 1958); *idem*, 'Fragmente aus dem Vademecum eines byzantinischen Finanzbeamten', in: *Polychronion. Festschrift Franz Dölger zum 75. Geburtstag* (= Forschungen zur griechischen Diplomatik und Geschichte 1) (Heidelberg 1966) 318-334; P. Lemerle, *The Agrarian History of Byzantium from the Origins to the Twelfth Century. The Sources and Problems* (Galway 1979). Other works discuss

and in the present contribution I would like to re-examine the term *synônê*, which has a technical significance in late Roman and Byzantine texts. The exact meaning of the word remains disputed and this has led to conflicting opinions among those who have attempted to interpret its application in the sources. The resolution of some of these questions has important consequences for our understanding of how the state's fiscal structures operated over the period in question.

Opinion regarding *synônê* can be divided into three basic views: on the one hand, the word is taken to retain its original meaning, as the Greek form of the Latin term *coemptio*, a compulsory purchase of (usually) grain at prices fixed by the state, chiefly for the supply of the army. Originally of an extraordinary nature, by the later fourth and fifth century it was argued by Dölger that it was raised on a regular basis, and in proportion to the tax assessment on each fiscal unit, so that it can be counted as an element of the basic tax, *dêmosion/dêmosion telos*, with which, however, it is held not to have been identical. By the tenth and eleventh centuries (and thereafter) it was regularly commuted into cash.³ An alternative view has been expressed by Ostrogorsky, who proposed instead that after the sixth century the *synônê* was the land-tax and, together with the *kapnikon*, formed the basic public taxes, all other impositions being additional to these, an argument in

fiscal structures in less detail, e.g. H. Ahrweiler, 'Recherches sur l'administration de l'empire byzantin aux IX^e-XI^e siècles', *BCH* 84 (1960) 1-109; N.G. Svoronos, 'Recherches sur le cadastre byzantin et la fiscalité aux XI^e-XII^e siècles: le cadastre de Thèbes', *BCH* 83 (1959) 1-166; M.F. Hendy, *Studies in the Byzantine Monetary Economy c.300-1450* (Cambridge 1985); A. Harvey, *Economic Expansion in the Byzantine Empire 900-1200* (Cambridge 1989); M. Kaplan, *Les hommes et la terre à Byzance du VI^e au XI^e siècle* (Byzantina Sorbonensia 10) (Paris 1992).

3. This is Dölger's view, *Finanzverwaltung*, 57-59; also in *BZ* 34 (1934) 369-373; followed implicitly by Lemerle, *Agrarian History*, 5-7; Harvey, *Economic Expansion*, 103; accepted with reservations by Svoronos, 'Cadastre', 139-140. See also A.P. Kazhdan et al., ed., *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* (New York-Oxford 1991) 3, 1994-1995, s.v. *synone*.

which he was followed by Ernst Stein.⁴ Finally, and most recently, Oikonomidēs and Kazhdan have suggested (in the process of handling other issues of fiscal or social history) that the *synônē* was effectively a poll-tax, a personal burden imposed on individuals at a fixed rate, and that it had, in consequence, no direct connection to land or to the land-tax.⁵

But in examining the textual evidence, it becomes clear that the interpretation that appears most valid varies according to the context in which the term appears; and more importantly, it varies according to the *period* from which the evidence is drawn. In particular, there appears to be a fairly marked change in meaning as between the sixth century and the later seventh century, on the one hand, and a gradual evolution in meaning and importance over the period stretching from the later seventh century up to the tenth and eleventh century. I should like in the following to re-examine the relevant material, and suggest that there is another possibility for understanding how the word was used and how the different nuances to which it is susceptible arose. In the process the dangers of assuming either continuity of meaning for technical terms or for administrative structures will become apparent.

The term *synônē* translates, as mentioned, the Latin *coemptio*, and represents a compulsory purchase at fixed prices of grain or other foodstuffs to supply the armies in a given region. It enabled the state to obtain supplies direct, without recourse to market exchange, when necessary. Clearly, such levies would be relevant only if the greater part of the state taxes were collected in cash, since the original purpose of the system typical of the

4. Ostrogorsky, 'Steurgemeinde', 49-51; E. Stein, *Histoire du Bas-Empire*, II. *De la disparition de l'empire d'Occident à la mort de Justinien (476-565)* (Paris-Bruges 1949/repr. Amsterdam 1968) 199ff., after the useful discussion of H. Geiß, *Geld- und naturwirtschaftliche Erscheinungsformen im staatlichen Aufbau Italiens während der Gotenzeit* (Berlin 1931) 11 and notes. This is also the position I followed in my *Byzantium in the Seventh century: the Transformation of a Culture* (Cambridge 1990) 142, 147-150, but which I will modify in what follows.

5. N. Oikonomidēs, 'Terres du fisc et revenu de la terre aux X^e-XI^e siècles', in V. Kravari, J. Lefort, C. Morisson, eds., *Hommes et richesses dans l'empire byzantin. VIII^e-XI^e siècle* (Paris 1991) 321-337, at 323, 328 n. 29; A. Kazhdan, 'Ignatios the Deacon's Letters on the Byzantine Economy', *BS* 53 (1992) 197-201, at 200.

fourth and much of the fifth centuries, by which the land-tax, or *annona*, was raised in kind, was to provide for the state's officials and soldiers. The process of adaeration or conversion of this assessment into gold seems to have occurred more rapidly in the western half of the empire than in the eastern half.⁶ During the later fifth century in the East, however, while the basic land-tax was *assessed* still in kind, it was *collected* increasingly in cash (gold), by commuting the assessment on the basis of an average of prices of the relevant produce. A confusing variety of practices operated side by side, until Anastasius introduced a simplified process whereby the assessment was partly carried out in gold and partly in kind (this for the maintenance of the army), but with the latter portion — known as the *embolē* — also commutable at locally-established rates.⁷ The purpose is plausibly explained by Malalas as an attempt to prevent the exploitation of the tax-payers by the soldiers through constant demands for foodstuffs and provisions, since the collection of the taxes in gold and their forwarding to Constantinople would severely limit this possibility.⁸ This becomes clear from ■ Novel he issued before 505, according to which the armies continued to be supported from that portion of the land-tax assessed and collected (or delivered) in kind. The Novel makes it clear that henceforth *coemptio/synônē* was to be an exceptional measure, applied only in situations where the amount of produce raised in kind from the regular land-taxes was inadequate, for whatever reasons, and only with explicit imperial permission.⁹ Only in

6. See A.H.M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire 284-602. A Social Economic and Administrative Survey* (Oxford 1964) 460.

7. For *embolē* as *annona*, see F. Preisigke, *Wörterbuch der griechischen Papyrussurkunden* I (Berlin 1925), s.v. *embolē* (3) (col. 473); II (Berlin 1931) p. 236; and esp. H.I. Bell, *Greek Papyri in the British Museum. Catalogue, with Texts*, IV, *The Aphrodito Papyri* (London 1919) xxv-xxvi, xxxi, p. 173f.

8. For the legislation through which the process of expanded commutation can be traced see, e.g. CTh XI, 1, 37 (a. 436) (*Theodosiani libri xvi cum constitutionibus Sirmondianis*, edd. Th. Mommsen, P. Meyer et al. [Berlin 1905]), and material assembled by Jones, *LRE*, 460f. and notes. Anastasius' regulations: Malalas 394 (Dindorf [CSHB], Bonn 1831).

9. CIX, 27.2 (a. 491-505). (*Codex Iustinianus*, ed. P. Krüger [CIC II. Berlin 1919]). See Jones, *LRE*, 235.

Thrace could *coemptio/synônē* be regularly employed, imposed on merchants as well as on producers where, due to the devastation and depopulation of the region, the regular *embôle/annona* collected in kind for the army was insufficient to meet the demand. The sellers were to be compensated in gold without delay.¹⁰ In its standard form, tax payers were normally re-imbursed for the imposition of *coemptio/synônē* by a deduction credited against that portion of the tax they paid in gold or, if the former added up to more than the value of the latter, in gold coin directly from the fisc. In fact, the state seems normally to have preferred to credit the extra grain required above the year's tax assessment to the assessment for the following year, as a Novel of Justinian makes clear.¹¹

The extent to which this legislation actually succeeded in ending the sorts of abuses against which it was directed is open to doubt, since the difficulty experienced by the relevant fiscal officials in calculating in advance the requirements of the units in question, as well as the unannounced or unexpected movement of troops, would inevitably throw any attempt to assess needs in advance into confusion. That these problems were appreciated is equally clear from the legislation of the sixth century, for Justinian's Novels 128 and 130 in particular set out in great detail the arrangements for calculating the *annona*, for the supplying of the armies, and for the movement of soldiers through the provinces.¹² But both Procopius and Agathias report that the system of *coemptio* was regularly abused, to the disadvantage of peasants and landowners both, no doubt chiefly a result of the factors mentioned above. And it would appear that the *coemptio/synônē* continued to be raised on a fairly regularly basis in spite of Anastasius' regulations.¹³

10. *CIX*, 27.2/10 (although Kaplan, *Les hommes et la terre*, 525, understands the text to mean that Thrace was entirely exempted from the *synônē*).

11. The process is described in detail in *CIX*, 27.2. For Justinian's Novel (dealing with troops passing through a province), see Just., *Nov.* cxxx, 1-5 (a. 545) (*Justiniani Novellae* [CIC, III, Berlin 1928]).

12. Just., *Nov.* cxxx, and cf. *nov.* cxxviii (a. 545), esp. §1-3.

13. Procopius, *HA* xxiii, 11-14 (Haury); Agathias iv, 22 (Keydell). See Stein, *Bas Empire*, II, 440.

On the other hand, it is clear from a Novel of Tiberius Constantine of 575 that the necessary portion of the land-tax needed to support the army was still raised in kind. The Novel reduces the basic taxes by a quarter each year for a four-year period. That part of the land-tax normally required in the form of corn or other produce, however, the *embolē*, was exempted from this, since the army still needed to be provisioned, of course; instead tax-payers could obtain a rebate for this portion in gold. A papyrus of the same period confirms that the reductions were actually carried out in this way.¹⁴ By the same token, Justinian's Novel 130 makes it clear that the portion of the land-tax collected in kind may often not have been sufficient for the supplying of the units in the various provinces, so that extra provisions had to be raised, set against the following year's assessment, or paid for from that part of the provincial revenues collected in cash and, where insufficient cash was available, to be taken from the general bank of the praetorian prefecture. In other words, a *coemptio* or *synônē* was applied.¹⁵

There is no doubt, therefore, that *synônē* meant up to this time, and probably into the seventh century and the period of the Arab conquests at least, a compulsory purchase of foodstuffs for the army which, while in theory only imposed occasionally, was

14. The Novel is included in the collection of 168 Novels: Just., *Nov.* clxiii (also in *JGR* [Zepos], I, Coll. 1, nov. XII); for the papyrus evidence, see *P. Oxy.* 1907 (*The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, edd. B.P. Grenfell, A.S. Hunt et al. [London 1898f.]). See Jones, *LRE*, 307 with note 9. The arrangement whereby tax-payers received a rebate misled Dölger, *Finanzverwaltung*, 58, who thought originally that the *embolē* referred to in this Novel was the *synônē*, and that the latter was therefore collected on a yearly basis. But — as he later appears to have seen (see *Finanzverwaltung*, 161: *Corrigenda et Addenda*) — this is impossible, since the *coemptio* was a compulsory purchase of produce (not a state levy), for which the tax-payers were paid as a matter of course (even if at an artificially low rate). There would be no point in offering rebates on produce which was anyway paid for (even if at unfavourable rates to the producers). The part of the *annona* raised in kind (and cf. Just., *Nov.* cxxviii, 1), however, would be rebated in just this way. There is no evidence that the *synônē/coemptio* was a yearly or regular imposition in all provinces of the empire at this time, although it may have occurred fairly regularly in those regions along and behind the frontier in which troops were most often stationed.

15. Just., *Nov.* cxxx, 3.

probably exacted more frequently, although it was never a yearly tax. The so-called *Stratêgikon* compiled during the reign of Maurice (582-602) refers to the need for the officers of each unit to inform their commanders of the needs of their soldiers, so that should they occupy winter quarters where supplies cannot easily be purchased, the general can make the appropriate arrangements in advance. This reflects very closely the spirit of Justinian's Novel 130 of 545;¹⁶ but it is possible to infer from both texts also that the *annona* extracted in kind was rarely sufficient by itself, and that in consequence the supplies provided by tax-payers above their officially-calculated dues were regularly treated as *synônê*. In practice, there must have been little real difference between the *embolê*, that portion of the land-tax collected in kind, and the *synônê*, given the ways in which the standard mode of compensation for the latter — offsetting of the credit owed by the state to the producers against the following year's tax assessment — actually worked.¹⁷

Apart from a few minor disagreements, then, the basic function of the *synônê* in the late Roman period is agreed upon. The evidence for the *synônê* in the following period is more ambiguous, however, hence the different positions outlined above. In support of his position, for example, Dölger cites a series of texts: the treatise on imperial expeditions compiled by Leo Katakylas at the end of the ninth century and incorporated in the 960s into the dossier which later became the Book of Ceremonies (according to which supplies in kind for the imperial service were to be taken by each thematic *prôtonotarios* from the *synônê* of the theme);¹⁸ the frequent mentions of the *synônê*, along with many other compulsory or irregular impositions, in

lists of exemptions granted in the eleventh century,¹⁹ as well as of the *synônarioi* responsible for assessing or collecting it;²⁰ and the reference to the payment by the *paroikoi* of Andronikos Doukas in a *praktikon* of 1073 of the *kapnikon* and the *synônê* at a common rate for all individuals according to their economic status.²¹ His conclusion that the *synônê* remains an additional levy in kind (although it could be commuted also) is based on two arguments. First, he assumes that, because the *kapnikon* is not mentioned in the Fiscal Treatise (dated to the tenth century), which deals with independent proprietors or landlords, as landowners (whatever the size of their properties), it was imposed only on dependent peasants (of the type who appear as tenants in the various documents of exemption referred to above). Second, he argues that, since the *kapnikon* was one of the two key elements of the *dêmosion telos* or basic state tax, the other element, the land-tax assessment, was similarly applied only to landowners, and is not to be expected in lists of exemptions applying to dependent tenants. The land-tax does not appear in the lists of specific impositions in such documents, therefore, and in consequence *synônê*, which does appear, cannot represent the land-tax.²²

There are several objections to this interpretation, however, both internal to the argument as expressed by Dölger himself, and in respect of evidence which he did not adduce, to which I will return in a moment.

19. Dölger cites *MM* VI, 47 (a. 1088) (= *Patmos* I, no. 6 [*Byzantina egrapha tês monês Patmou* I. *Autokratorika*, ed. E. Vranousi (Athens 1980)]); see also, for example *JGR* (Zepos) I, 617 (a. 1044); *MM* V, 137 (a. 1074); 143 (a. 1079); VI, 22 (a. 1079) (= *Patmos* I, no. 3); *Lavra* I, 38.37 (a. 1079); 48.35 (a. 1086) (*Actes de Lavra, première partie, des origines à 1204*, edd. P. Lemerle, N. Svoronos, A. Guillou, D. Papachryssanthou [*Archives de l'Athos*] Paris 1970).

20. *MM* VI, 48 (= *Patmos* I, no. 6) is cited; see also, for example, *MM* V, 4 (a. 1045); 9 (a. 1079); *JGR* I, 617; 630 (a. 1045); 644 (a. 1078); *Lavra* I, 33.97 (a. 1060); 36.32 (a. 1074); 38.64 (a. 1079); 45.52 (a. 1081); 55.33 (a. 1102); 67.58 (a. 1196).

21. *MM* VI, 1ff., see p.2.21 and p.15.8 (a. 1073) (= *Patmos* II, no. 50 [*Byzantina egrapha tês monês Patmou* II. *Demosiôn leitourgôn diplomatikê ekdosis*, ed. M. Nystazopoulou-Pelekidou (Athens 1980)]). The *paroikoi* of the Nea Monê on Chios were likewise freed from both *synônê* and *kapnikon* in the Chrysobull of Constantine IX of 1044 — *JGR* I 617.

22. *Finanzverwaltung*, 57.

16. See Just., *Nov.* cxxx, 6.

17. See Maurice, *Stratêgikon* (Dennis-Gamillscheg), i, 2.16; Just., *Nov.* cxxx, 1 and 6.

18. *Const. Porph.*, *Three Treatises*, (B) 101-106 (*Constantine Porphyrogenitus, Three Treatises on Imperial Military Expeditions*, ed. J.F. Haldon [*CFHB* XXVIII], Vienna 1990) (= *De Cer.* [Reiske], 451.19).

Ostrogorsky, in arguing that *synônē* meant simply land-tax, drew upon the same texts. He placed particular emphasis upon two documents used by Dölger in connection with the *kapnikon*: first, a constitution recorded in the Book of Ceremonies and dating to the later ninth or tenth century, according to which households which accepted Arab converts, whether civil or military in status, were to be freed from payment of *kapnikon* and *synônē* for a period of three years;²³ second, a decision in the early eleventh-century *Peira* of the judge Eustathios Rhomaïos, which makes it clear that the *kapnikon* was effectively the main tax on habitation, the *synônē* similarly a tax on the produce of cultivated land.²⁴ Finally, Ostrogorsky notes that, were we to assume that *synônē* did not mean land tax, we would also have to assume that none of the monastic and other properties which received imperial exemptions were freed from it, which is actually flatly contradicted by some of the texts themselves, as we shall see below.

Both sets of arguments have their merits, and there are equally a number of objections that can be raised in each case. Those against Dölger's hypothesis can be summarised as follows: in the first place, and as Stein has already noted in objecting to Dölger's argument,²⁵ the Fiscal Treatise does not use a specific technical term for the basic land tax (but nor does it refer to the *kapnikon*) — it refers merely to the *dēmosios kanôn* in a general sense, a term which must be understood to include the main state taxes on land.²⁶ Since the *synônē* is not mentioned among the associated additional impositions (such as *elatikon*, *exaphollon*) or *parakolouthēmata*,²⁷ yet certainly existed, it seems reasonable

to suppose that it was understood (along with the *kapnikon*) as included within the *dēmosios kanôn*. The point is confirmed by the fact that in the *praktikon* of 1073 referred to already, both the *synônē* and the *kapnikon* are included under the global calculation of the *dēmosia*. Taken together with the text from the *Peira* mentioned above, the relationship between *synônē* and *kapnikon*, on the one hand, and between *synônē* and land, on the other, appears to confirm the identification of *synônē* with, at the very least, a key element of the basic land-tax. But this particular interpretation of this text is also problematic. I will return to it in a moment.²⁸

In the second place, Dölger's insistence that the land tax is not referred to in connection with dependent peasants, because it was entered in the cadasters only in connection with the names of the proprietors of the land, makes no sense in respect of the way fiscal assessments were made. It is clear from all the extant cadastral evidence that, by the tenth century certainly, the tax-assessment was made on the basis of what was due from each household or holding, whether the holder was independent or ■ tenant. For the latter, of course, the 'tax' element was collected along with his rent by the landlord, to be handed over or forwarded to the relevant state officials.²⁹ The assessment for each household or *stasis* normally included all the regular state impositions which were calculated on the basis of the amount and quality of the land and produce in question. Since many of the documents grant exemption from the public taxes, since the lists of obligations are clearly meant to be as full as possible (the *kapnikon*, for example, clearly a key element of the *dēmosia*, is nearly always included), and since there is no mention of any state imposition except the *synônē* which can represent the land tax, it would

23. *De Cer.* 695.3-9.

24. *Peira* (in *JGR* IV, 9-260) xviii, 2. The text was also discussed by Vassilievsky 'Materialy k vnutrennej istorii vizantiiskogo gosudarstva', *Zurnal ministerstva narodnogo Prosvescenija* 202 (1879) 16-232; 368-438, see p.400.

25. *Bas-Empire* II, 200 and note 2.

26. A point made by Dölger himself, *Finanzverwaltung* 54; see the text of the *Fiscal Treatise*, *ibidem*, 116.25, 34; 117.5, 42; 122.6ff.; 123.2, 7, 30; and see also Dölger's revisions to his original arguments in *BZ* 39 (1939) 54.

27. *Fiscal Treatise*, 122.15f.

28. See *Patmos* II, no. 50.312ff. (and note 49, p.33), and note 21 above regarding the Nea Monē on Chios.

29. The documents referred to in notes 19ff. above make this principle clear. See also Oikonomidēs, 'Terres du fisc et revenus de la terre', 323ff. and especially Kaplan, *Les hommes et la terre*, 205-209.

appear reasonable at the least to connect the two, as Ostrogorsky wished to do.³⁰

In the third place, to understand the *synônê* as a continuation of *coemptio*, or compulsory purchase of foodstuffs, at this time makes little sense in the context of the lists in which it occurs, since exemptions from it are almost always accompanied also by exemptions from *corvées* of one sort or another, *aggareiai*, or extraordinary burdens, *epêreiai*, such as supplying food for soldiers, compulsory purchases of grain for the army and for fortresses and so on.³¹ Since there can be little doubt that it is the latter which represent the extra impositions beyond the regular state taxes, the term *synônê* must represent something else, a regular assessment of some sort, even if it is still not clear that it can be clearly identified with the land-tax element of the *dêmosios kanôn*. The point is emphasised by the fact that it regularly occurs in connection with the *kapnikon*, the *strateia* and the *aerikon*,³² all elements of the regular state imposition on different categories of landed property.

Finally, it is worth realising that the *synônê* had been a compulsory purchase of grain or supplies, not a compulsory levy. The difference is important, since there is no evidence at all that the term *synônê* in the middle Byzantine period — from seventh to the eleventh century — represented a purchase by the state. Quite the contrary, it is clear that it was an imposition assessed and collected usually in kind, at least until the eleventh century.

30. 'Steuergemeinde', 51. For the form taken by the assessment, see Svoronos, 'Cadastre', 77-89, 118ff.; Oikonomidès, 'Terres du fisc et revenu de la terre', 324ff. with more recent literature; and Kaplan, *Les hommes et la terre*, 205-218.

31. See esp. *JGR* I, 617; also *MM* V, 137, 143-44; *Lavra* I, 38; 48; and note 52 below.

32. The exact meaning of *aerikon* is disputed. Ostrogorsky, 'Steuergemeinde', 53, thought that it was a tax on doors and windows, but Dölger, 'Das *aerikon*', *BZ* 30 (1929-30) 450-457, followed by Stein, *Bas-Empire* II, 444 and note 1, argued that it was rather a fine on infractions of laws dealing with distances to be maintained between buildings in urban contexts. But the derivation from *aēr*, 'air', is probably unnecessarily complicated; it might be more fruitful to examine the possibility that it was dubbed *aerikon* because it was a specific form of cash adaeration, to be derived from the Latin *aes/aeris*, copper/bronze, referring to money, rather than from the Greek *aēr/aeros* (or Latin *aer/aeris*). See J.F. Haldon, 'Aerikon/aerika: a Re-Interpretation', in *Festschrift Hunger* (Vienna 1994, forthcoming).

This becomes clear when we examine certain texts which have not yet been mentioned. In two letters written in the early years of the ninth century, and addressed to the *prōtonotarios* of the *thema*, the metropolitan Ignatios of Nicaea (to whom the letters have traditionally been ascribed) complains angrily about the imposition of the *synônê* twice in one fiscal period on Church lands, at the rate of six *modioi* for all the tenants on the estates in question. The implication of the letter is that a single annual imposition was quite normal, mentioning in the process the fact that the tax demand had been made in July and that the assessment had been registered, so that a second imposition should not be demanded. In the colourful language of the second letter the fiscal officer responsible is described as an *archisitarchês*, and this, together with the fact that Ignatios notes that he descends upon the Church's estates after the first *synônê* has been collected and stored in the *tameia* of the fisc (*dêmosion*), confirms that the demand was for produce, not cash. Finally, there is no suggestion that the state will recompense the Church in any way at all for the produce taken. This was clearly not a compulsory purchase.³³

There is a problem connected with the interpretation of these texts in respect of the rate of assessment which is mentioned, and the significance of the way in which Ignatios expresses himself, to which I will return below. But what is at least clear is that we are dealing here with a *synônê* of a somewhat different character from its late Roman predecessor. It was not a compulsory purchase; neither was it an *epêreia*, since the first letter clearly differentiates the *synônê* from *corvées* and other state impositions of an extraordinary nature.³⁴ Yet the fact that it was raised twice

33. For Ignatios' letters: *Ignatios diakonos, Epistolai*, ed. M. Gedeon, in *Nea Bibliothêkê Ekklesiastikôn Eggrapheôn* I, 1 (Constantinople 1903) 1-64, see Epp. 7.20-26; 8.10-12. Note that the statement of demand for the *synônê* was issued in July — corresponding exactly with the sixth-century practice as reflected in the regulations laid down in Justinian's Novel 128, §1, of 545. As will become apparent in what follows, the interpretation of Ignatios' letters offered here differs slightly from that proposed in my *Byzantine Praetorians* (Poikila Byzantina 3, Bonn 1984) 314, 585f.

34. See ep. 7, 1.13.

within the same indictional year — reminiscent of the superindictional levies of the fourth and fifth centuries — might suggest both its origins in the late Roman compulsory purchase — *coemptio* — and the fact that it clearly represents at the same time the main way in which the army was supplied, in other words, the *embolê*. A double imposition in a single fiscal year cannot have been a rarity. The point is re-inforced by a group of three letters, probably of the early tenth century, making up a short correspondence between a fiscal official and a metropolitan, in which the former complains that the Church authorities whose lands he is sent to assess refuse to hand over their *synônê*. Although Darrouzès, who comments on the term, simply repeats Dölger's view that this is the *coemptio* of the late Roman period, the context makes it fairly clear that we are dealing here with a regular state tax of a somewhat different character, and which was assessed on the basis of more than a simple flat-rate imposition.³⁵

Two further texts are equally important. In the treatise already mentioned on military expeditions compiled by the *magistros* Leo Katakylas, and referring almost certainly to the campaign practice of the emperor Basil I,³⁶ it is noted that the *prôtonotarios* of each *thema* through which the imperial force passes must provide certain supplies in kind from the *aerikon* and the *synônê*. If this is not sufficient, then the *prôtonotarios* should obtain the necessary produce from the *eidikon*.³⁷ The passage is compressed and by itself difficult to interpret in more than a very

35. For the tenth century correspondence, see J. Darrouzès, *Épistoliers byzantins du X^e siècle* (Archives de l'Orient chrétien 6) (Paris 1960) nos. 22, with 23 and 24. The reason for the ecclesiastical non-co-operation is said to be the heavy demands in fees in kind (corn, wine) made by the official, and in addition his extending his stay at the Church's expense beyond a reasonable length of time (in this context, stated to be three days). He justifies the latter in terms of the extent and complexity of his work on this property. This would strongly suggest that the *synônê* was at this time assessed according to the productivity and amount of land at the disposal of the landowner — a simple headcount would otherwise suffice were it raised on the basis of a flat-rate.

36. See *Const. Porph., Three Treatises* 54ff.

37. *Ibid.*, (B) 101-106.

general sense. But this account is supplemented by a slightly different version of the process in a much extended and re-worked version of the treatise compiled at the behest of Constantine VII himself, perhaps in the 950s.³⁸

These two passages together describe a process exactly the same as that outlined in Justinian's Novel 130. According to the description set out in the sixth-century regulation, the provincial officials are to be given advance notice of the army's requirements in foodstuffs and other goods, which are to be deposited at named sites along the route of march. Exact records of the produce supplied by the tax-payers as *embolê* are to be kept and reckoned up against the annual tax owed in this form; if more supplies were provided than were due in tax, then the extra was *to be paid for*, at a *fixed rate* established by the appropriate state officials, out of the remaining (cash) revenues collected in the regular yearly assessment (i.e. a *coemptio/synônê* is to be applied) of that particular province. If the province in question had insufficient local cash revenues to pay for the extra supplies, then they were to be paid for either from the general bank of the praetorian prefecture (*coemptio/synônê* again), or collected anyway and then deducted from the following year's assessment in kind.³⁹

The account in the two versions of the treatise on expeditions, which describes the situation in the ninth and tenth centuries, is similar: the thematic *prôtonotarios* is to be informed in advance as to the army's requirements, which are to be provided from the *synônê* and the *aerikon* of the *thema* and stored at appropriate points along the route of march. An exact account of the supplies is to be kept, so that (where the thematic tax-payers provided more than their yearly assessment demands) the amount can be deducted (from the assessment for the following year). Both passages note that, where supplies cannot be paid for out of the local fiscal revenues, the cash (or the supplies — the text does not specify which, although the former would be far more likely) is to be taken from the bureau of the *eidikon*, just as in

38. *Ibid.*, (C) 347-358.

39. See above, with note 9; and Just., *Nov.* cxxx, 1-5.

the sixth century the cash was taken from the general bank of the prefecture. The second text notes that the final accounts are worked out, after the expedition has been stood down, in the *eidikon*.

It is clear from these texts that *synônê* in the ninth/tenth century accounts is the exact equivalent of the regular *embolê*, that portion of the land-tax collected in kind from which military supplies were drawn in the sixth-century account. Extra supplies were also levied, and paid for out of local or central funds, in the ninth century; but they were no longer called *synônê*. At some point, therefore, it would appear that the term *synônê* had come to mean not a compulsory purchase, but rather the regular tax in kind, or at least a portion of it. The process by which this occurred is illustrative of the general situation of the state economy in the period after the sixth century.

Two separate sets of indications can help to elucidate this. In the first place, it is generally admitted that there occurred in the second half of the seventh century, and specifically, following the numismatic evidence, after the year 658 a radical de-monetisation of state activity outside Constantinople.⁴⁰ In the second place, it is clear that the state faced enormous difficulties in maintaining its armies after the loss of the eastern provinces, and especially Egypt, to the Arabs, and the withdrawal of the armies of the *magistri militum per Orientem* and *per Armeniam* into Anatolia, and their establishment there, together with the forces of the *magistri militum praesentales* and *per Thracias*. The evidence assembled by Hendy shows that the government was already very

40. For example, M.F. Hendy, *Studies in the Byzantine Monetary Economy c.300-1453* (Cambridge 1985) 640ff. (dramatic reduction in the issue and availability of copper coins, particularly clear in Anatolia, from the late 650s); Cécile Morrisson, Jean-Noël Barrandon, Jacques Poirier, 'La monnaie d'or byzantine à Constantinople: purification et modes d'altérations (491-1354)', in: Cécile Morrisson, Cl. Brenot, J.-P. Callu, J.-N. Barrandon, J. Poirier, R. Halleux, *L'or monnayé I* (Paris 1985) 113-187, see p.125f. (reduction in gold content of *nomisma* from the reign of Constantine IV). For an analysis of the implications of these developments in their wider context: J.F. Haldon, *Byzantium in the Seventh Century. The Transformation of Culture* (Cambridge 1990).

hard-pressed for cash in the 630s and 640s;⁴¹ and the way in which the soldiers were garrisoned across the provinces of Asia Minor thereafter (and the eventual evolution of the so-called military lands out of this context) suggests that the state reverted on an increasing scale to raising tax in kind in order to maintain the troops, rather than paying them a commuted *annona* (and *capitus*, for cavalry units), as had hitherto been the case for those units not on campaign or in transit.⁴² An interesting indication of this lies in the distribution of the armies of the *magistri militum*, for — as I have suggested elsewhere — a reasonably close correlation can be shown to have existed between the size of the forces occupying a given region, the quality of the productive land and, therefore, the amount of resources that could be drawn from that region.⁴³

But there is a further indication which bears directly on the issue under discussion here. In the so-called Farmers' Law (*Nomos geôrgikos*), which, it is generally agreed, can be dated in all probability to the later seventh or first half of the eighth century, a part of the regular state taxes is referred to as *ta extraordinaria tou dêmosiou*.⁴⁴ As in Egypt at the same period, this ap-

41. Hendy, *Monetary Economy*, 625f.

42. The Novel of Tiberius Constantine on the remission of taxes, together with Justinian's Novel 130 and Anastasius' regulations on *coemptio* (CI X, 27.5ff.), make it quite certain that troops in garrison away from an active front were generally supplied by cash purchases made from their regular pay (the evidence of the Egyptian papyri is very clear in this respect: see Jones, *LRE*, 672ff.); those in transit and on an active front (for example, the Persian frontier and hinterland in the 570s — Tiberius' Novel names Osroene and Mesopotamia specifically) were supplied directly in kind from the *embolê* and from a *synônê* where the former was insufficient.

43. Haldon, *Byzantium in the Seventh Century*, 227f., 215f.

44. W. Ashburner, 'The Farmers' Law', *JHS* 30 (1910) 85-108; 32 (1912) 68-95 (repr. in: *JGR* [Zepos] II, 63-71), see cap. 19 (*JGR* II, 66). Lemerle, *Agrarian History*, 40, 41 note 1, notes the fact that the Farmers' Law makes no reference at all to *synônê/coemptio* in the traditional sense. The term *extraordinaria* might be expected, but that *extraordina* was the usual Greek form is clear from the papyrological evidence. See H.I. Bell, ed., *Greek Papyri in the British Museum*, IV, xxvff. A possible objection to the interpretation which follows is that the passage in question in the Farmers' Law concerns a property which has been abandoned by its proprietor and cultivated in his absence, although s/he has received no income from it, yet for which s/he has

pears to be a reference to the collection of produce in kind;⁴⁵ unlike in Egypt, however, where the continued collection of a substantial portion of the state taxes in gold had been maintained without interruption from Roman to Arab administrations, so that a clear difference between the *embolê*, that portion of the land-tax collected in grain, and the tax in gold was maintained,⁴⁶ the situation in the Byzantine empire was very different. The appearance in the *Nomos geōrgikos* of a reference to the regular *extraordina* in a context where the main state taxes are clearly understood can best be explained by assuming that the state, faced by a drastic shortage of cash, adopted the procedure familiar from the fifth and especially the fourth century, of appropriating the greater part of the tax it demanded in kind. No doubt some taxes continued to be collected in gold, especially in areas near Constantinople, for example, or where the presence of soldiers made the exchange of produce and other goods, for military provisions, in exchange for gold viable. Payments to the soldiers in gold certainly continued, albeit on a much reduced scale. Legal texts refer

been able to pay the *extraordina tou dêmosiou*; and the question arises as to how these could have been acquitted without a harvest. See Kaplan, *Les hommes et la terre*, 211. Two possibilities exist: the owner has acquitted his taxes for this particular property from the income from another property; or the tax in question was aderated for cash. Either way, the case is not unique: a similar example is recorded in the Aphrodito papyri, for the same period (c.650s-720s), in Egypt, where tax-payers registered as the holders of unproductive land, or who did not produce corn (or both) were still expected to pay their *embolê*, but in cash. See Bell, ed., *Greek Papyri in the British Museum*, IV, xxvi, 172 and 258.

45. See Bell, ed., *Greek Papyri in the British Museum*, IV, 1356, where the *extraordina* are clearly differentiated from the *aggarelai*, i.e. from the supplementary burdens and corvées imposed on the tax-payers; 1338, 5 where the *extraordina* are distinguished from the *chrysika dêmosia* and 'the remaining taxes', and 1470, where they are distinguished from a number of supplementary taxes. The probability is that *extraordina* in the Egyptian context of the second half of the seventh century represents an additional imposition in kind, a surcharge, in effect, to the *embolê*. In 1393, the *extraordina* appear as extra revenues requested for the maintenance of workmen and sailors, thus having the same result as a *synônê*. Since there is no evidence that it was raised on the basis of compulsory purchase, however, it was clearly not a *coemptio* in the late Roman sense.

46. See Bell, ed., *Greek Papyri in the British Museum*, xxv-xxxii, esp. xxvi, xxix; and G. Rouillard, *L'administration civile de l'Égypte byzantine* (Paris² 1928) 79ff.

to the payment of soldiers by both *annônai* and by a *rhoga*.⁴⁷ But the extraction of tax and the payment of salaries in kind appears to have become a major element in the state's fiscal operations, and I would argue that a regularised imposition in kind to maintain the field armies became quite rapidly the main form in which the land-tax was actually assessed, levied and distributed.

This was probably inevitable, in view of the fact that the main field armies were distributed across the provinces of Asia Minor from the early 640s, on the one hand; and on the other, that the empire was on a constant war footing. Muslim attacks and raids several times a year deep into Asia Minor were the norm from this time until the 720s, so that the whole area was in effect a war zone.⁴⁸ Following the standard procedure of the pre-conquest period — which was all that the imperial administration had at its disposal — we would expect the administration to resort as a matter of course to maintaining and supplying the soldiers in kind. There is no need to postulate any unusual or innovative measures here.

That a substantial portion of the land-tax henceforth came in many regions — perhaps the majority — to be collected in kind and to be referred to as *synônê* (a term which would normally hitherto have been included among the *extraordina*)⁴⁹ is a reasonable hypothesis, since the process by which this was carried out paralleled very closely in its practical workings the traditional system of converting the cash part of the land-tax from

47. See *Ecloga. Das Gesetzbuch Leons III. und Konstantinos' V.*, ed. L. Burgmann (Forschungen zur byzantinischen Rechtsgeschichte X) (Frankfurt a. M. 1983) xvi, 4; also xvi, 1 and 2; see also D. Simon, 'Byzantinische Hausgemeinschaftsverträge', in: *Beiträge zur europäischen Rechtsgeschichte und zum geltenden Zivilrecht. Festgabe für J. Sontis* (Munich 1977) 91-128, see 94 (A)2, 7; (B)4 (an eighth-century text probably of Leo III and Constantine V, appended in its older form to manuscripts of the *Ecloga* as article 19). For Constantinople and its hinterland, see R.M. Harrison, ed., *Excavations at Sarachane in Istanbul*, I (Princeton 1986) 278-280 (M.F. Hendy).

48. See R.-J. Lilie, *Die byzantinische Reaktion auf die Ausbreitung der Araber* (Miscellanea Byzantina Monacensia 22, Munich 1976) 57-133, 183ff.

49. See, e.g., Just., *Nov.* cxxxi, 5 (where, however, a difference is drawn between *extraordinaria* and other works such as road- and bridge-maintenance and building renovations).

gold back into kind when military supplies were required. None of this means that the whole of the land-tax was referred to as *synônê*; it is quite possible that a portion, collected in either kind or cash according to time and place, was referred to under some other, perhaps less specific term.⁵⁰

There is good evidence that this shift in meaning had already occurred by the 680s. In 681, the emperor Constantine IV issued a series of *iussiones* pertaining to the papal patrimonial lands in Sicily and Calabria, in which the rate of assessment of the *annonacapita* and the *coemptum frumenti* was reduced.⁵¹ The reference is significant first because the *coemptio* or *coemptum* in this text is clearly levied at a regular rate (otherwise it could not be reduced by a general decree); second because it is clearly levied in corn (*frumentum*). In the third place, its importance as an annual state imposition is made very clear by its being singled out, along with the *annonacapita*, in this way — other imperial demands are referred to simply as *alia diversa* which the Church of Rome paid each year. And finally, its association with the *annonacapita* in this context strongly suggests that, as in the sixth century, the rate at which *coemptio* was demanded was proportional to the productive land held.⁵² But the traditional *coemptio* was not levied on a regular or annual basis across most of

50. The change in terminology suggested here occurred at the same time as the older system of tax-assessment — the so-called *capitatio-iugatio* system — appears to have been modified. While I cannot go into this here, and while it is clear that the *kapnikon*, which henceforth made up the other main element in the regular public taxes, was not a capitation or poll-tax in the traditional sense (because soldiers were subject to the *kapnikon*, and soldiers had always been exempted from the poll-tax; see below, for the *kapnikon*; and Jones, *LRE*, 617 for exemption from *capitatio*: see Ostrogorsky, 'Steuergemeinde', 52; but Dölger, *Finanzverwaltung*, 51, who holds it for a poll-tax), one of the major factors must have been the much greater proportion of surplus wealth extracted in kind to support the armies in their new situation. See G. Ostrogorsky, *Geschichte des byzantinischen Staates* (Munich 1968) 115; Haldon, *Byzantium in the Seventh Century*, 141-152.

51. *Liber Pontificalis*, ed. L. Duchesne, 2 vols. (Paris 1884-1892), I, 366.9-10 (and see F. Dölger, *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des oströmischen Reiches 565-1453* [Corpus der griechischen Urkunden des Mittelalters und der neueren Zeit, Reihe A, Abt. i-iv [Munich-Berlin 1924-1965]; ii, 2nd edn. ed. P. Wirth [Munich 1977], no. 250).

52. This is very clear from *CI X*, 28.2/8.

the empire, except for the special case of Thrace, as we have already seen.⁵³ Yet here it is explicitly referred to as a yearly imposition, suggesting already that it had become a standard fiscal obligation in kind. Nor is there any suggestion here that it was a compulsory *purchase* — the text implies that it was an uncompensated demand, a regular tax in corn.

It is unlikely that the transformation of the *coemptio/synônê* from a compulsory purchase into a regular assessment took place at one moment. On the other hand, it is worth noting that the *Liber Pontificalis* also records that between 662 and 668 Constans II ordered a tax-census for the provinces of Sicily, Calabria, Sardinia and Africa.⁵⁴ This coincides, of course, with the presence of his court and his field army in Italy and Sicily; and it seems very probable, although it cannot be proved, that the very presence of the army brought with it the application in Italy and the western regions, for the first time, of the methods of maintaining both soldiers and state machinery which had already been evolving in the Anatolian regions of the empire. Such a move may well have required a re-assessment of fiscal burdens and the establishment of new registers (the word employed by the *Liber Pontificalis* is *diagrafa*). In addition, we should recall that is from about 658 that the numismatic record shows a dramatic reduction in finds of copper across the eastern provinces which, if the interpretation suggested above is correct, gives an added significance to evidence of fiscal re-assessment at this time.⁵⁵

The ninth-century Arab geographer Ibn Khurradadhbîh, the first version of whose work was compiled ca. 846, includes a passage from an older source (which can certainly be regarded as valid for the later eighth century and possibly earlier) describing the division of the regular tax assessment into three parts: a cash payment based on the price of grain, a tax collected in

53. The fact that officials responsible for imposing and levying a *coemptio* were exhorted to fix a rate commensurate with the ability of individual households to provide the corn might suggest that officials tended to impose a flat rate (see below). See *CI X*, 27.2/8-9.

54. *Liber Pontificalis*, I, 344.2-4 (cf. Dölger, *Regesten*, no. 234).

55. See the references in note 40 above.

kind (grains) for the provisioning of the army, and placed in granaries or storehouses, and the *kapnikon*.⁵⁶ The second element here fits in both with the evidence from the *iussio* of 681 mentioned in the *Liber Pontificalis*, and with the description in the letters of Ignatios the deacon. It must surely refer to the regular *embolê* element of the land-tax, now called the *synônê* (but described also under the heading *ta extraordinaria*). It matches exactly the tripartite division of the main public tax-burden which pre-dates the Arab conquests, but which continued to exist in Egypt until well into the early eighth century.⁵⁷

One further text is relevant. This is a decision from the eleventh-century collection known as the *Peira* of the judge Eustathios, in which the text deals with the *kapnikon* and *synônê* attached to a leased property. The text notes that the *kapnikon* is due from the property if it is occupied, but that the *synônê* should be imposed only where the property actually includes productive farmland (*zeugelateion*).⁵⁸ What is interesting about the text is that a personal tax such as the *kapnikon* is treated at least to a degree as attached to the property, but only where it is occupied, i.e. where there exists a tenant. The *synônê*, in contrast, is clearly understood to be directly related to the production of an agricultural surplus, and is likewise associated with the property rather than with any individual who may occupy it. It is explicitly not raised when no agricultural production takes place.

Finally, a point in connection with the passage from the *Book of Ceremonies* already mentioned. The fact has been passed over by modern commentators: but in the process of detailing the regulations concerning relief from the *kapnikon* and *synônê* for those households who take in a converted Saracen prisoner, the text notes that this applies whether the household is *stratiôtikos* or *politikos*, military or civil.⁵⁹ Now while military households

always remained subject to the basic state taxes (the *dêmosia*), they were specifically exempted from extraordinary burdens, which include labour corvées and impositions such as *aplêkton*, *mitaton* and the provision of supplies for the army, including levies of grain and other foodstuffs.⁶⁰ The fact that both military and civil households clearly normally bore both the *synônê* and the *kapnikon* would appear to be a clear indication that the former imposition cannot have been an extraordinary burden, but was an element of regular taxation.

There remains one difficulty with this interpretation, however. It has been suggested that the *synônê* was a personal tax imposed at a flat rate (although it may also be assumed to have been reassessed or imposed at different rates on occasion) on all individuals (with land, one assumes, although this remains implicit). The chief grounds for this view appear to be the fact that, in a *praktikon* given to Andronikos Doukas in 1073, the public taxes for the *paroikoi* on the lands in question vary: for the *zeugaratoi* (those with two oxen) between 2½ and 4 *nomismata*, while for the *boidatoi* and *kapnikarioi* (or *aktêmones* — without land) it is set at ½ a *nomisma*. Included in these sums are the *synônê* and *kapnikon* of the *zeugaratoi*, assessed at a rate of 1 *nomisma*, and those of the other two groups, set at ½ *nomisma*. The whole public tax of these last groups is thus taken up with the *synônê* and the *kapnikon*. It is clear that this is not the main land-tax itself, the assessment for which varied from property to proper-

56. See Abū'l-Kāsim 'Ubayd Allāh b. 'Abd Allāh b. Khurradadhbih, *Kitāb al-Masālik wa'l-Mamālik*, in: *Bibliotheca Geographorum Araborum*, ed. M.-J. De Goeje (Leyden 1870ff.; cont. R. Blachère et al., Leyden 1938ff.) VI, Fr. transl. 76-85, see 83.

57. See, for example, Bell, ed., *Greek Papyri in the British Museum*, xxv-xxxii.

58. *Peira* (in *JGR [Zepos]* IV, 9-260), see §18.2 (p.68).

59. *De Cer.* 695.3ff.

60. The main texts are discussed in: J.F. Haldon, *Recruitment and Conscription in the Byzantine Army c.550-950: A Study on the Origins of the stratiotika ktemata* (*Sb Wien* 357) (Vienna 1979) 54 note 94; 60 note 104; 'Military service, military lands and the status of soldiers: current problems and interpretations', *DOP* 47 (1993) 1-67, see esp. 42f., 54f.; G. Dagron, H. Mihaescu, *Le traité sur la Guérilla (De velitatione) de l'empereur Nicéphore Phocas (963-969)* (Paris 1986) 264ff. Privileges accompanying military service: Jones, *LRE*, 617, 675; Th. Mommsen, 'Das römische Militärwesen seit Diocletian', *Hermes* 24 (1889) 195-279, 248f.; E. Patlagean, 'L'impôt payé par les soldats au VIème siècle', in: *Armées et fiscalité dans le monde antique* (Colloques nationaux CNRS, 936) (Paris 1977) 303-309. The key texts: *CI* xii, 35.16 (unspecified military privileges); 36; and A. Dain, 'Sur le "peculium castrense"', *REB* 19 (1961) 253-257 and esp. *Dig. L*, 5.10 (= *Bas. LIV*, 5.10) on exemption for soldiers from certain *munera* or *aggareiai* (including billeting); *Dig. L*, 4.3.

ty, and which cannot have been raised on the basis of a flat rate of this sort.⁶¹ Kazhdan cites the two letters, nos. 7 and 8, in the collection ascribed to Ignatios the deacon from the first part of the ninth century in making a similar point,⁶² and assumes that the 6 *modioi* per person at which the *synônê* was assessed in these letters likewise represents a flat rate, personal tax, not an assessment on land.

Let us take the document of 1073. This makes two things quite clear. The *synônê* is graded according to livestock — plough-teams/oxen or donkeys — possessed by the peasant household in question. The greater the number of animals, the higher the rate. It does appear from the text that this was not just a local assessment, that is to say, an assessment of the peasant households on the estates in question only, but rather a generalised rate applied much more widely. But since the number of oxen and livestock the tenants in question possessed is clearly also a reflection of the amount of land they can work, and consequently of the amount of produce/income they can be expected to generate, the *synônê* of this document — in spite of its fiscalised form — still retains a hint of its original character, as an assessment nominally based upon the amount of land cultivated by each household.⁶³ So that what we are faced with in the *synônê* of the middle and later eleventh century is a generalised rate based upon a property assessment which, as it developed, took on increasingly the character of a fixed exaction imposed upon individual households. This impression is re-inforced when we note that the

61. Oikonomidès, 'Terres du fisc et revenu de la terre aux X^e-XI^e siècles', in V. Kravari, J. Lefort, C. Morrisson, eds., *Hommes et richesses dans l'empire byzantin II. VIII^e-XV^e siècle* (Paris 1991) 321-337, see 323, 328 n.29; the *praktikon* of Doukas: *Patmos* II, no. 50, 312ff.

62. Kazhdan, 'Ignatios the Deacon's Letters on the Byzantine Economy', *BS* 53 (1992) 197-201, see 200.

63. See the comments of Svoronos, 'Cadastré', 139-140, and *idem*, 'Remarques sur les structures économiques de l'empire byzantin au XI^e siècle', *TM* 6 (1976) 49-67, esp. 55 and n. 24. The grounds for assuming these rates to be standard lie in the fact, noted by the most recent editor of the text, Nystazopoulou-Pelekidou, that the official who drew up the document clearly had a formulaic list at his disposal, since he includes details of *paroikoi* not relevant to the case in point: *Patmos* II, p.33 and n. 49.

document in question charges also the *kapnikarioi*, by implication without cereal-producing land, and in this case defined as those without oxen, with a proportionally reduced *synônê* and *kapnikon*. Traditionally, those without productive land would normally not be expected to pay any *synônê* at all. The imposition appears to have become a standardised fiscal burden imposed on all peasant producers, applied certainly according to a sliding scale (it would appear), but no longer according to whether a household possessed land or not. It is important to note that a similar evolution took place in Egypt during the sixth and seventh centuries, where papyrus evidence of the post-conquest period (i.e. after 640) shows that landless or agriculturally unproductive households were on occasion assessed for the *emboîê* (which was certainly calculated on the basis of the land and its productivity) at a flat rate, and may even have had to purchase corn in order to pay it.⁶⁴

One conclusion of this must be that we cannot use this document to tell us a great deal about the application of the *synônê* at an earlier period, since it is clear that the evolution in its meaning involved important shifts in its application and in the ways in which the central government administered it. This evolution probably reflects several factors. In the first place, it is very likely that, as the state emerged from the difficult conditions of the seventh and eighth centuries, and as the monetisation of exchange relationships gathered pace, so the need to maintain the *synônê* as the chief source of surplus wealth extraction, and in kind, became less urgent.⁶⁵ It must remain unclear from when exactly it came increasingly to be levied from each peasant household according to a graded scale, such as is represented in a fiscalised

64. See Bell, *Greek Papyri in the British Museum*, IV, no. 1426, and commentary with other references at xxvi.

65. The numismatic evidence suggests a marked upswing of monetised exchange during the first half of the ninth century, especially during the 830s and 840s. See esp. Ph. Grierson, *Catalogue of the Byzantine Coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection and in the Whittemore Collection III: Leo III to Nicephorus III, 717-1081*, 2 vols. (Washington D.C. 1973) I, 412ff., 94ff.; D.M. Metcalf, 'How Extensive was the Issues of Folles during the Years 775-820?', *B* 37 (1967) 270-310, see 309f.; and *idem*, *Coinage in South-eastern Europe, 920-1396* (London 1979) 17ff. with literature and sources.

form in the *praktikon* of Ducas referred to above. From the tenth and especially in the eleventh century the fiscalisation of the major state taxes must have played a significant role; and — as I shall mention below — the state's reliance on extraordinary impositions for the maintenance of its armies, but in a context of relatively high monetisation of exchange relationships⁶⁶ (contrasting greatly, therefore, with the seventh century in particular), will have had the effect of replacing it as an exaction in kind entirely.

The letters of Ignatios support such a hypothesis. At first glance they certainly give the impression that (in this instance) a standard rate per person was applied. But there is no suggestion here of any sliding scale according to property or livestock — quite the reverse, in fact. So that, in the way in which Ignatios describes it, this does indeed appear to be a sort of poll-tax. Yet there is not the slightest evidence that such an individual, flat-rate, and personal tax existed in the middle Byzantine period. The *synônē* in the eleventh-century document discussed above is quite different in character. There is no evidence that the older *capitatio* survived the later seventh or very early eighth century;⁶⁷ and as far as the sources tell us, 'personal' taxes — such as the *kapnikon* — were raised on households, not individuals: the other sources we have mentioned so far, and in particular the passage from the Book of Ceremonies regarding households which take in Arab converts, make this quite clear. This remained the case throughout Byzantine fiscal history.⁶⁸ The *kapnikon* was assessed at a flat rate of 2 *miliarêsia* per household, and was presumably set at

a level which would ensure that most households could pay it.⁶⁹ In contrast, the rate mentioned by Ignatios is extremely high, if we take his statements literally: it was supposedly applied indiscriminately to babies and unproductive elders, for example.⁷⁰ Ignatios describes it as both a *synônē* and as a *sitarchia*.⁷¹

The persons assessed are all tenants of the Church estates, and the results of the double exaction were (Ignatios claims) to reduce the clergy to penury.⁷² But like all epistolographers, Ignatios is not averse to the use of rhetorical exaggeration to make his points. We should proceed with some caution, therefore, in respect of his statements in letters 7 and 8. Can he really mean that non-productive children were actually assessed at the same rate as mature men and women?

Letter 7 notes that the regular *synônē* was demanded and accounted for in July (the usual month, according to the legislation of Justinian, for the tax assessments in both cash and kind

69. Harvey, *Economic Expansion in the Byzantine Empire*, 103.

70. The price of corn varies considerably across the period from the mid-eighth century to the twelfth century. See Cheynet, Malamut, Morisson, 'Prix et salaires', table at 356-7, but an average price of 1 *modios* @ 1/12 *nomisma*, i.e. 1 *miliarêsiôn* per *modios*, has been estimated as a reasonable price for Constantinople in the tenth century (*ibid.* 360-361) and for the southern Balkans in the later tenth and early eleventh century (Svoronos, 'Cadastré', 141). Prices in the provinces, and prices for commutation set by the provincial or central fiscal departments, may have fluctuated considerably around this — they were very much lower for a while during the reign of Constantine V, for example, and — of course — they were much higher during periods of shortage. If we accept Ignatios' figures, and his statement that the tax was imposed on individuals and not households, this gives a rate three times higher than that at which the *kapnikon* was demanded in cash (unless the price of corn at that particular juncture was extremely low); and since most households can be assumed to consist of several persons, very much higher again than even this. It is obvious, and Oikonomidès has noted elsewhere the fact, that flat-rate taxes hit the economically weak extremely hard: see his 'De l'impôt de distribution à l'impôt de quotité. À propos du premier cadastre byzantin (7^e-9^e siècle)', *ZRVI* 26 (1987) 9-19, see 16 and n. 30.

71. I see no reason to doubt that the two letters deal with the same event, and that the *synônē* of letter 7 is the same imposition as the *sitarchia* of letter 8.

72. See ep. 7, 24-26 and ep. 8, 10. For their status as tenants, ep. 1, 18ff. (I take the term *parochē* rendered by the producers to the Church to mean rent).

66. See discussion below, with notes 90ff.

67. See Haldon, *Byzantium in the Seventh Century*, 141-143. In any case, it had never been applied to infants, and not always to women members of households: Jones, *LRE*, 543f. A range of both upper and lower age-limits on tax-liability, varying according to local tradition from province to province, existed in the third-sixth centuries, for example: cf. A.H.M. Jones, 'Census Records of the Later Roman Empire', in *The Roman Economy: Studies in Ancient Economic and Administrative History*, ed. P.A. Brunt (Oxford 1974) 228-256, see 231.

68. See, for example, A. Laiou, *Peasant Society in the Late Byzantine Empire, a Social and Demographic Study* (Princeton 1977) 176-181.

to be issued to the provincials).⁷³ Then a second *synônê* was demanded, at the rate of 6 *modioi* per person. Rather than to a *synônê*, the second letter refers to both the first (regular) and second impositions as a *sitarchia*. As Dölger has noted, the latter term seems to replace *synônê* from the fourteenth century as a regular state imposition.⁷⁴ Possibly the two terms were already in use by this time, although *synônê* remains standard until the later twelfth century.⁷⁵ Either way, it is clear that Ignatios did not consider the *synônê* to be an extraordinary imposition, whether demanded frequently or not but, on the contrary, a regular and normal state exaction, which by implication was assessed and rendered on a yearly basis — the reference to the July demand for the amount in question makes this clear. Equally, there is a clear difference between *synônê* as it appears in the texts discussed so far and the extraordinary demand for more grain, frequently referred to in the eleventh-century documents of exemption, for example.⁷⁶ Ignatios clearly sees the first demand as normal and legitimate, the second as neither usual nor legitimate. It seems quite likely that it did represent a compulsory levy, but was still officially a *synônê*. It was, after all, the frequency or regularity of extraordinary impositions, the way in which they were raised and the purposes to which they were put, which probably generated the confusion between regular and extra state demands in the first place. It is quite possible that Ignatios arrived at his figure simply by dividing the number of ecclesiastical

73. See Just., Nov. cxxviii, 1. The annual harvest varied across Byzantine territory according to local climatic conditions and the cereal grown — wheat or barley, for example — but most communities will have harvested between late June and September. See M. Kaplan, *Les hommes et la terre à Byzance du VI^e au XI^e siècle* (Paris 1992) 56ff.; M.F. Hendy, *Studies in the Byzantine Monetary Economy c.300-1450* (Cambridge 1985) 142-145.

74. *Finanzverwaltung*, 59.

75. Although it might also be the case that Ignatios is confusing *synônê* with a forced or compulsory levy, the imposition was referred to in eleventh-century documents as *sitarkêsis*: see, for example, *Lavra* I, nos. 38.34; 44.28; 48.30.

76. *Lavra* I, 39.41-2; 48.40; *Ahtaleiates*, *Diataxis*, 1444-45; *JGR* (Zepos) I, 617; *Patmos* I, 1.38 and 51: *exônêsis* (compulsory purchase) or *ekbolê* (*ex agorasias*) (requisition or compulsory purchase) with the possessive of the goods in question (wine, meat, corn etc.).

tenants and their dependents by the amount of grain demanded, which would deprive it of any value in attempting to arrive at an official rate of taxation, but which would certainly give the impression of a flat-rate head-tax imposed regardless of age, and which would emphasise his outrage at the actions of the state assessors. It is worth noting that even in the late fifth and sixth centuries imperial legislation mentioned the bad practice of assessing producers for compulsory purchases of grain (*coemptio/synônê*) at rates which they could not afford, suggesting the application of a flat rate to all the members of a community regardless of their means.⁷⁷ And as we have seen, there had certainly evolved a tendency by the later eleventh century to collect the *synônê* according to a fixed rate related to property and income. Ignatios' letters may be the first hint of this development in the early ninth century.

In spite of its origins, therefore, it seems very probable that at some point — perhaps even by the first half of the ninth century — the *synônê* came to be attached to households on some sort of sliding scale, regardless of whether the household in question possessed adequate resources in productive land. This certainly occurred at times with the *embolê* in seventh- and eighth-century Egypt, as I have noted already. There is no reason to doubt that it could also have happened in those provinces remaining within the eastern Roman state, although it would be dangerous to assume that it was applied in this way either uniformly, across all provinces, or even regularly. Indeed, the fact that this development does seem eventually to have taken place suggests the affinity that existed between the original *embolê* and the regularised *synônê*. But there is absolutely no evidence to suggest that the latter remained either a compulsory purchase, as the word had originally been understood, or a personal, poll-tax (although its evolution may well have meant that it increasingly took on the characteristics of such a tax).

On the basis of the evidence discussed so far, I would suggest that we may reasonably conclude that during the later seventh

77. See *CI X*, 27.8-9.

and eighth centuries, and probably well into the tenth century, the term *synônê* represented an important element, possibly the central element, in the main land-tax of the Byzantine state, whether collected in cash or kind. The evidence from the eleventh-century archival documents is somewhat more difficult to interpret. In many of the documents issued for private or monastic landlords by the emperors, the lists of exemptions from state obligations bracket the *synônê* and *kapnikon* and all the supplementary (but clearly regularised) levies together, and at the same time note that the property in question should still be subject to the fisc for the *dêmosion*.⁷⁸ This led Dölger, for example, to conclude that *synônê* could not be a part of the *dêmosia*, the regular taxes on land; and in this he has been followed by several others.⁷⁹ Thus in the *diataxis* of Michael Attaleiates, of the year 1077, it is noted that the properties in question should continue to be subject to the *dêmosia* and other dues (unspecified) at the rate for which they were hitherto assessed; but that they should henceforth be freed from a long list of obligations, including the *synônê*, *kapnikon*, *strateia*, *prosodion* and so forth.⁸⁰

But there is no real contradiction here. For the amount of fiscal income conceded by the state to a private landlord through the process of *logisimon* was generally assumed to be that of the taxable revenue *at the time of transfer*; if the owner improved the

78. This practice unfortunately does not help to clarify matters for the historian, the more so since regular state taxes — the *dêmosia* — were normally granted to a landlord by means of a process referred to as *logisimon*, by which the lands in question and the revenues pertaining to them were noted in the central and thematic cadasters. In contrast, exemption from extraordinary and occasional charges was through an *exkousseia*, so that one might expect two separate lists. See Dölger, *Finanzverwaltung*, 144-145. The fact that all the exempted fiscal obligations appear in one list might suggest that the *synônê* was indeed an extraordinary burden (which, as we have seen, is the way Dölger preferred to argue); but since the *kapnikon*, the *ennomion* and one or two other standard elements of the *dêmosia* appear in such lists, it clearly cannot be interpreted in this way.

79. For example, Harvey, *Economic Expansion*, 103; Kaplan, *Les hommes et la terre*, 555-556.

80. P. Gautier, 'La diataxis de Michel Attaliat', *REB* 39 (1981) 5-143, see II. 1402-6 (p.105) and 1437ff.

income from the properties in question, the fisc could claim the excess above the original amount. Hence the efforts of landowners, who were granted such exemptions to make them permanent and to exclude all fiscal officials thenceforth. This explains why, in spite of continuing to be subject to the *dêmosia*, Attaleiates obtained protection from all *future* assessments and visits by the officials who would be responsible for them, since according to the stipulations of the imperial grant no *re-assessments* were to be carried out. A particularly clear example, discussed at length by Lemerle, is found in the *Typikon* of Pakourianos, where the beneficiary is granted specific exemptions from future efforts to assess improvements to his properties.⁸¹

Similarly, the chrysobull issued in 1044 by Constantine IX for the Nea Monê on Chios exempted its property Ta Kalothêkia from impositions such as *prosodion*, *synônê*, *kapnikon*, *aerikon* and so on, but noted that the village of Eucheia should continue to pay its *dêmosion*.⁸² Here, a clear difference is drawn between the general exemption for the one property, and the limited exemption for the other. It is quite reasonable, in this case, to assume that whereas the exemption from *synônê* for Kalothêkia did imply exemption from the land-tax, the village of Eucheia, which continued to be subject to the *dêmosion*, may have continued to pay the *synônê*. In other words, this particular text cannot be used to prove that *synônê* had no direct connection with the land-tax.⁸³

Other texts may confirm that the term *synônê* still retained its connection with the land-tax in the later eleventh century. A docu-

81. Gautier, 'La diataxis de Michel Attaliat', *loc. cit.* For detailed discussion, see Dölger, *Finanzverwaltung*, 144-145; *Lavra* I, 48, notes (pp.256-8); Lemerle, 'Le Typikon de Grégoire Pakourianos (Décembre 1083)', in *Cinq études sur le XI^e siècle byzantin* (Paris 1977) 113-191, see esp. 182f.; and N. Svoronos, 'Notes à propos d'un procédé de techniques fiscales: la dochê', *REB* 24 (1966) 97-106 (repr. in *Études sur l'organisation intérieure, la société et l'économie de l'Empire Byzantin* [London 1973] IV).

82. *JGR* (Zepos) I, 617.

83. That the *synônê* was certainly included as part of the *dêmosia* is clear from the *praktikon* of Doukas discussed already.

ment of 1082 which lists exemptions from certain state taxes and demands awarded to a property held by the Lavra on Athos, notes that, while it will be exempted from the usual range of taxes such as the *oikomodion*, *kômodromikon*, *kapnikon*, *aerikon* and so on, the land in question will still be subject to the *dêmosion*. What is particularly striking is that in the long list of state dues which make up the list of impositions from which the monastery's land is henceforth to be freed, the *synônê*, which is usually among the first taxes to be listed, is conspicuously absent.⁸⁴ Given the very explicit statement that the land must continue to be subject to the *dêmosion*, and given that the *synônê* is the only imposition of those normally found in such lists of exemptions which is *not* included here, it appears that the latter was, at least in this particular case, taken to be included under the term *dêmosia*. In addition, it is worth repeating the fact that in a great many documents in which the *synônê* appears, the lists detailing the obligations to which the properties in question are no longer subject include *in addition* the compulsory *purchase* of corn, barley or other crops as an important element, proving at the very least that the *synônê* at this time cannot have functioned in the way in which Dölger argued.⁸⁵

What these and other, similar, documents suggest, in fact, is that the lists of exemptions themselves cannot always reliably be used as literal reflections of detail. The majority do not differentiate between the status of the different fiscal obligations they include (regular, extraordinary), so that if we did not have clear evidence to that effect, it would be impossible to say from the inclusion of a particular tax alone — in this case, the *synônê* — whether it is assumed to belong to the category of *dêmosia*, or that of *epêreia* or *aggareiai*. Rather, they are in many respects

84. *Lavra* I, 44.19 and 31ff. Note also that the *synônarioi* are not among the officials listed from whom the monastery has protection.

85. See *Lavra* I, 44.31; other texts list similar impositions as well as the *synônê*: for example, *Lavra* I, 39.41-2; 48.40; Attaleiates, *Diataxis*, 1444-45; *JGR* (Zepos) I, 617; *Patmos* I, 1.38 and 51. The usual terms for these extraordinary impositions are *exônêsis* (compulsory purchase) or *ekbolê* (*ex agorasias*) (requisition or compulsory purchase) with the possessive of the goods in question (wine, meat, corn etc.).

formulaic statements of exemption,⁸⁶ meant to achieve the maximum effect when presented to whichever imperial officers or officials demanded the right to extract resources, revenues or customary dues. An inclusive list of state obligations was accompanied by a statement that the state would continue to require the payment of its public taxes (the *dêmosia*). The fact that obligations making up the *dêmosia* were also included in the list was therefore of significance only in respect of the questions, were the state taxes to be collected at the old rate? — and was a reassessment (and consequent increase in the state's demands) to be permitted? What counted in such a context was the specific statement that the *dêmosia* were *not* exempted, as in the *diataxis* of Attaleiates or the Chrysobull of the Nea Monê on Chios of 1044. If no such statement was incorporated into the document, then the state conceded also the public taxes.⁸⁷ The officials and officers associated with such demands were to be refused access to the properties in question.

In spite of the obvious difficulties associated with the interpretation of these texts of the eleventh and twelfth centuries — difficulties which also reflect the substantial changes that were taking place in the fiscal apparatus of the state at this time — it can thus reasonably be argued that the term *synônê* did not refer to any extraordinary obligation, but on the contrary, that it continued into the eleventh and early twelfth century to be identified with a key element of the state's public (land) tax, a point re-inforced by the *praktikon* of Doukas of 1073.⁸⁸

86. This point has been made by others, of course. Nystazopoulou-Pelekidou noted in connection with the Patmos archive that state officials responsible for drawing up such documents appear sometimes to have relied upon formulaic lists for some of the details of their documents. See *Patmos* II, 33 and n. 49.

87. For example, *Lavra* I, 33. In some cases, as we can see from the fact that officials responsible for a state imposition *not included* in the list are later mentioned among those denied access to the property, the list of obligations for which exemption had been granted was incomplete. Thus in a document of 1079 for the monastery of St John on Patmos the *synônê* is not mentioned, but the *synônarioi* figure among those state officials ordered not to enter the properties in question: *Patmos* I, 2.6-7 and 24.

88. See *Patmos* II, 50, 312ff. and the discussion of N. Svoronos, 'Remarques sur les structures économiques de l'empire byzantin au XI^e siècle', *TM* 6 (1976) 49-67, 55f.

As Dölger and many others have also noted, however, it is clear that the *synônē* began at some point increasingly to be collected in cash, certainly during the tenth century, and possibly as early as the later eighth century in certain areas or at certain times, according to the prevailing conditions.⁸⁹ During the tenth century and after, this was partly a reflection of the state's growing need to maximise its cash income in order to be able to pay for full-time, mercenary (Byzantine or foreign) units of soldiers (amongst other expenses); it was a reflection, too, of the continued growth of monetisation of the Byzantine economy during the tenth century, as urban life in the Balkans and in Anatolia recovered from the effects of the political and economic changes of the previous two hundred and fifty years;⁹⁰ and it was partly also a reflection of the decrease in importance of the thematic forces both from the military (defensive) perspective (in the context of military/political expansion at this period) and from the point of view of maintaining a particular system of recruitment.⁹¹ Soldiers on campaign still needed to be fed and housed and equipped, however, and the large number of extra impositions placed upon the tax-paying population of the state during the tenth and eleventh centuries, evident from the long lists of exemptions granted to various monastic and secular landlords by the emperors at this time, shows how the state increased absolutely the burden upon the producing population. Not only did fiscal officials (including the *synônarioi* listed in

the texts) now collect a standardised land-tax which could be adaeerated into gold;⁹² other officials assessed the producers for extraordinary, but in fact regularised, impositions in livestock, grains, other crops, and a whole range of services and perks. For without the levying of the actual materials (both as consumables for the army, as well as the necessities for the production of arms, ships and so on) the state could not always be assured of the physical availability of the resources it needed, especially where unplanned or unforeseen military requirements were concerned.⁹³ This was a logical corollary of the fiscalisation of the state's taxes, of course. Just as in the fifth and sixth centuries the adaeeration of the *annona* had meant the introduction of a system of compulsory purchases to supplement the taxes raised in kind to maintain the army, so now the fiscalisation of the land-tax, including the *synônē*, combined with the increasing dependence on mercenary soldiers in contrast to the partially self-maintaining thematic militias, meant that a whole range of materials and supplies had to be levied on a regular basis in order to supply the armies based in the provinces. And while such levies had always been an important factor in the Byzantine state economy (constituting a substantial proportion of the surplus wealth appropriated by all pre-industrial states), it appears to have been their greater frequency and intensity at this time which weighed so heavily on the producing population.⁹⁴

89. *Finanzverwaltung*, 58f.; Ostrogorsky, 'Steuergemeinde', 50f.; A. Dunn, 'The Kommerkiarios, the Apotheke, the Dromos, the Vardarios, and The West', *BMGS* 17 (1993) 3-24, see 11ff., esp. 14 and n. 59; Harvey, *Economic Expansion*, 86-89.

90. Harvey, *Economic expansion*, 86ff. with literature: Morriison, 'La monnaie d'or byzantine à Constantinople: purification et modes d'altérations (491-1354)', 128-129; and esp. *eadem*, 'Monnaie et finances dans l'empire byzantin X^e-XIV^e siècle', in V. Kravari, J. Lefort, C. Morriison, eds., *Hommes et richesses dans l'empire byzantin* 11. *VIII^e-XV^e siècle* (Paris 1991) 291-315, see 304-308.

91. See the discussion of Ahrweiler, 'Recherches', 16ff., 22-24; Lemerle, *Agrarian History*, 223-226; *idem*, *Cinq études sur le X^e siècle byzantin* (Paris 1977) 267-271; Harvey, *Economic Expansion*, 111ff.; and my comments in 'The Army and the Economy: the Allocation and Redistribution of Surplus Wealth in the Byzantine State', *Mediterranean Historical Review* 7/2 (1992) 133-153, esp. 146ff.

92. Although it is clear that it could still be demanded in kind, as a document from the Lavra archive for 1104 suggests when the monastery's ships are exempted from *eisagôgē synônēs*, the transport of the *synônē*: *Lavra* I, 55.46; cf. *Patmos* I, 8.7 (a. 1119) for a similar exemption.

93. Oikonomidēs, 'L'évolution de l'organisation administrative de l'empire byzantin au XI^e siècle (1025-1118)', *TM* 6 (1976) 125-152, see p.144; cf. Scylitzes (Thurn) 274, where the frequent demands made of the rural population for the maintenance of the armies of Nicephorus II (963-969), and the hardships this caused, are mentioned. G. Ostrogorsky, 'Pour l'histoire de l'immunité à Byzance', *B* 28 (1958) 165-254 comments on the general increase in the rate of demand for and issue of exemptions from these burdens at this period; for the nature of the demands, see Harvey, *Economic Expansion*, 105ff.

94. See the discussion in Haldon, 'The Army and the Economy', *art. cit.*, 149-150; and note the remarks of Morriison, 'Monnaie et finances', 294ff.

It is equally important to bear in mind, of course, that the pressure for fiscalisation must have varied according both to the general economic and fiscal situation of the state — so much is clear from what is known about the period from the seventh to the tenth century alone — as well as according to local conditions. Such pressure was probably not all one-sided, either. In areas with good access to markets and coin it may well have been considerable; in contrast, areas in which access to money was relatively limited will always have found difficulty in meeting state demands for cash, however wealthy they may have been in produce, livestock and other materials. It seems reasonable to assume throughout the history of the Byzantine state a wide range of local variations, and the efforts of the state at times to impose uniformity are clearly to be seen: for example, in the political and social unrest which followed the attempt to fiscalise the taxes of the Bulgarian provinces in the 1040s.⁹⁵ The imposition by the state of a range of *aggareiai* and *epêreiai* must therefore be seen in its local context, both geographically, in respect of the availability of particular types of resource, as well as chronologically, in respect of the state's needs at different times, its response to different sorts of pressure, and the ability of the producing population to supply those needs.⁹⁶ Internal political developments, in particular over the control of the mechanisms of appropriation and re-distribution of resources, also affected this picture, so that a fairly complex series of interlocking elements should always be assumed.

95. See the points made by Harvey, *Economic Expansion*, 113-119. The relationship between taxation in kind and taxation in cash seems to be paralleled also by the relationship between the presence of *kommerkiarioi* in the provinces which were in zones of military activity or policed exchange, and their absence in regions not affected by such developments: see the apposite remarks of A. Dunn, 'The *Kommerkiarios*, the *Apotheke*, the *Dromos*, the *Vardarios*, and *The West*', 12-15. I have not dealt with the *kommerkiarioi* in this context, but it is clear that their role in the fiscal structures of the middle Byzantine state is crucial, and must be tied in to the central fiscal apparatus at several levels.

96. See the recent important discussion of A. Dunn, 'The Exploitation and Control of Woodland and Scrubland in the Byzantine World', *BMGS* 16 (1992) 235-298, esp. 268ff.

From this point of view, in consequence, it is necessary also to modify Ostrogorsky's conclusions. For while it is clear that the *synônē* of the period from the seventh century on, and for the reasons outlined above, is co-terminous with an important element of the main public (land) taxes, it is equally clear that its importance declined during the later tenth century and after. It appears to have become one among several equivalent elements making up the *dēmosios kanôn* raised by the state. The lists of exemptions granted to landlords, secular and clerical, grow in length and detail as time passes, a reflection in all likelihood of the efforts of the state's officials in devising new impositions or finding loopholes in the documents of exemption, necessitating in turn a tendency to make such lists as comprehensive as possible to cover all eventualities and potential demands from the state.⁹⁷ By the same token, the fiscalisation of the *synônē*, as we have already noted, probably resulted in a standardisation of the rates at which it was collected, so that it increasingly took on the appearance of a personal rather than land tax. As the process of fiscalisation gathered pace, the overall importance of that part of the original land-tax raised in kind, but now generally demanded in cash, decreased. The *synônē* became just one element among many, and the reduction in its significance in the eleventh century lists of exemptions seems to reflect these developments.⁹⁸ As we have noted above, the appearance from the middle of the eleventh century of an ever-growing range of complementary impositions and obligations,⁹⁹ illustrates the direction in which the administration of state taxation was moving. For the new terms exactly described the real nature of the par-

97. See the cogent remarks in this connection of P. Lemerle, 'Le Typikon de Grégoire Pakourianos', 182-183.

98. The best recent discussions of these developments are in Harvey, *Economic Expansion*, loc. cit.; Kaplan, *Les hommes et la terre*, 564ff. A good example is provided by the Chrysobull of Alexios I of 1086, by which the village of Chostianē with all its fiscal obligations was granted to the *proedros* and *katepanō* Leo Kephalas, and in which the *synônē* appears alongside a range of standard and extraordinary obligations as one of many equivalent sources of revenue. See *Lavra* I, 48.35f.

99. See the references cited by Dölger, *Finanzverwaltung*, 59, and Ostrogorsky, 'Steuergemeinde', 50ff.

ticular sub-elements of the basic taxes demanded by the state, a demand for specific items or their cash equivalent — the fiscalised demand for regularly-imposed *epêreiai* and *aggareiai* could on occasion be greater than the demand from the land-tax, for example,¹⁰⁰ just as the monetary income from the subsidiary levies accompanying the land-tax could often increase the total payable by more than 50%.¹⁰¹

The results of the foregoing investigation can be summarised as follows: the evidence suggests fairly clearly that the term *synônē* meant from the later seventh century not a form of *coemptio*, ■ compulsory purchase, but rather a regular and annual imposition on land in the form of cereals (and possibly other produce), calculated in relation to the productive land farmed, directly or indirectly, by each taxpayer. It seems in effect to have replaced the traditional term *embolē* for that part of the land-tax demanded in kind. The word was used in this sense because the two methods of supplying the state's needs — taxing land in kind and the compulsory purchase of produce for the army — were during the seventh century conflated, resulting in turn in the evolution from the tenth and eleventh centuries, and probably earlier, of new terms or phrases to describe compulsory purchase. It is probably the case that the *synônē* — like the *embolē* in the sixth century — could always be commuted for cash, if local conditions were favourable, although the tenth and eleventh centuries witness the most pronounced and generalised moves in this direction. From the later eighth and first part of the ninth centuries the numismatic and archaeological evidence suggests that the economy became increasingly monetised, and concomitantly the state probably needed to raise a smaller proportion of its resources than hither-

to in kind. The *synônē* may have been calculated increasingly on a fixed-rate sliding scale, illustrated by the middle of the eleventh century in the *praktikon* given to Andronikos Doukas in 1073. As the process of fiscalisation increased in pace, especially during the tenth and eleventh centuries, and as the state turned increasingly to new, irregular impositions in kind and compulsory purchases for the supply of the armies and imperial officials, so the overall significance of the *synônē* as an important component of the land-tax dwindled.

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100. M. Goudas, 'Byzantiaka eggrapha tēs en Athō hieras monēs tou Batopediou', *EEBS* 3 (1926) 113-134, see 125-126 (the *antikaniskion* imposed on some of the monastery's lands was higher than the land-tax). Dunn, *art. cit.*, 269, notes that commutation of these impositions should not generally be assumed unless it is explicit in the sources, for example, by the addition of the prefixes *para-* or *anti-*, as in *paraggareia* or *antikaniskion*, *antimitaton* and so on, precisely because the state could not afford to generalise and make permanent the fiscalisation of the supply of raw materials.

101. See the discussion of Svoronos, 'Cadastre', 81ff.

The Cretan drama of the Sacrifice of Abraham in the dialect of the Mariupol Greeks*

APOSTOLOS KARPOZILOS

In 1932 Kassandra Kostan (Aleksandra Konstantinovna Gargala, 1897-1939), published a book on the literature of the Greeks living in the Donetsk region of Southern Ukraine.¹ It was a worthy undertaking because in her short anthology Kostan, a pioneer researcher in the history and folk traditions of the so-called 'Roumaioi', collected several poems and songs composed in the Greek dialects spoken in the various villages and communities around Mariupol. In her anthology she included old folk songs and poems, some of them dating from as early as 1778 or even earlier.² One of the oldest songs composed before 1778 is about the city of Kaffa and another about the exodus of the Greeks from Crimea and their subsequent settlement around Mariupol under Catherine II in 1778-1779. It is only unfortunate that Kostan did not publish this interesting selection of songs and poems in their original Greek form, but instead translated them into Ukrainian. Now the loss is probably permanent, since most of these songs have been forgotten and, to make matters worse, nothing has survived to this day from the papers of Kostan, who died in St. Petersburg in 1939.

Before the Russian Revolution there had been nothing formally written or published in the various dialects spoken in the Donetsk

* I wish to express my thanks to Prof. Andrei Beletskii of Kiev University for providing me with the transcriptions of the Sacrifice of Abraham in the dialect of the Roumaioi of Southern Ukraine and for entrusting their publication to me.

1. K. Kostan, *Z Literaturi Mariupol'skikh Grekiv (Ax tu Rumeku t' literatura as t' Mariupolia* (s.l. 1932).

2. *Ibid.*, 30-32.

region. Until then the scholarly world only rarely took notice of the existence of this Greek minority and of their dialect. To be sure, there had been some studies written on the history and language of this Greek minority, but as a rule they converged on one issue: the exodus of the Greek Christians living under the rule of the Tatars in Crimea led by a Greek priest, Ignatios, and their settlement in the Mariupol area in 1778.³ Of their history, customs and traditions while living in Crimea very little has been transmitted to us. Yet, among the few studies written before the Revolution worth noting is a paper by Professor B. Grigorovich of Odessa University, published in Russian in 1874 and translated into German in the same year by O. Blau.⁴ The Russian scholar had the foresight to include in his work a glossary of about 137 Greek and Turkish words current in the dialect of the Roumaioi.

The first systematic studies about the history and language of the Mariupol Greeks date from after the recognition of 1926 of the various Greek ethnic groups living in the Soviet Union as a national minority.⁵ After 1926 the Mariupol Greeks began progressively to organize their own schools, introducing for the first time in their history the teaching of their dialect into their educational system. At the same time, books, periodicals and

3. See S. Serafimov, *Krymskie Khristiane (greki) na severnykh beregakh Azovskogo Morya* (Kherson 1862) 1-33. F. Khartakhai, *Khristiansvo v Krymu* (Simferopol 1864). A. Kh. Gavriil, 'Pereselenie Grekov iz Kryma v Azovskuyu guberniyu', *Zapiski Odesskogo Obshchestva istorii drevnostei* 1 (1884) 197-204.

4. The study by B. Grigorovich was published in *Zapiski antikvara o poezdke ego na Kalku i Kalmius* (Odessa 1874), and was translated in the same year by O. Blau under the title: 'Über die griechisch-türkische Mischbevölkerung um Mariupol', *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 28 (1874) 576-583. See also O. Blau, 'Griechisch-türkische Sprach-Proben aus Mariupoler Handschriften', *ibid.*, 562-576.

5. To cite only the most significant: D. Spiridonov, 'Istorychnyi interes vivchennya govirok Mariupil'skykh Grekiv', *Schidnyi Svit* 12 (1930) 171-181. I.I. Sokolov, 'O yazyke Grekov Mariupol'skogo i Stalinskogo okrugov. Predvaritel'nyi ocherk', *Yazyk i Literatura* 6 (1930) 49-67. S. Yali, *Greki na Ukraine*, (Khar'kov 1931). I.I. Sokolov, 'Mariupol'skie Greki. 1. Mariupol'skie Greki do poseleniya ikh na Ukraine (XV-XVIII vv.)', *Trudy Instituta Slavyanovedeniya AN SSSR*, 1 (1932) 297-317. M.V. Sergievskii, 'Mariupol'skie Grecheskie Govory', *Izvestiya Akademii Nauk SSSR. Otdelenie Obshchestvennykh Nauk* (Moscow 1934) 533-587 (hereafter, Sergievskii).

newspapers were published in their dialect and in an attempt to enhance their ethnic identity a Greek national museum of history and art was founded in Mariupol.⁶ In the same period a Greek press was operating up to 1937, publishing various books, periodicals and the newspaper *Kolechivistis*, which was written in the dialect of the Roumaioi. In addition, a teaching Academy was founded in the city for the preparation of teachers who would teach in demotic Greek. One of the leading activists of the 'Kolechivistis Press' was the poet Georgi Kostoprav (1903-1944), author of several books of poetry and translator of Anton Chekhov and A.S. Pushkin into the Mariupol dialect. Kostoprav had a tragic end like many other leading ideologues who were liquidated during the Stalinist purges. He was imprisoned and later executed.⁷

Kassandra Kostan published her book in the context of a national awakening that began to take place in the 1930s among the Greek minority of Southern Ukraine, which at the time numbered close to 150,000. In the pre-Revolutionary period, except for a small educated elite living in Mariupol, the Greek population was living in the twenty-four or so villages in the Donetsk and knew very little about their history and culture as there had never been close links with the mainland of Greece or with the major centres of Hellenism. In fact, the historical roots of the Mariupol Greek minority must have puzzled the educated Greeks living in Southern

6. S. Yali, 'Απ' τι δρασι το Ελινικυ Μυσιυ τις Μαριυπολις, *Κομμινιστις*, 22 (478), 7. VII. 1928. N. Kovalenko, 'Το Μυσιο τις Μαριυπολις, κ' ι Ρομυ τις Υκρανις', *Κολεχτιβιστις* 45 (57), 15. IX. 1931. A. Karpozilos, 'Οι Έλληνες της Μαριούπολης (Ζντάνοφ) και η διάλεκτός τους', *Αρχαίον Πόντου* 40 (1985) 97-112, esp. 108-110. The dialect of the Roumaioi and their cultural and political activities had interested R.M. Dawkins, 'The Pontic Dialect of Modern Greek in Asia Minor and Russia', *Transactions of the Philological Society* (London 1937) 15-52, esp. 19-24.

7. See G. Kostoprav, *Λεόντι Χοναγπέις (πίμα)* (Mariupol 1934). Cf. also 'Λεόντι Χοναγπέι: Κάμποσα λόγια για το πίμα τυ Κωστοπράβ', *Νεότιτα* 3 (1935) 85-91. A.P. Chekhov, *Διγμματα*, transl. G. Kostoprav (Mariupol 1936). A. Chekhov, *Ι Χοριατες*, transl. G. Kostoprav, (Mariupol 1936). A.S. Pushkin, *Σίλογι Εργον*, ed. G. Kostoprav (Mariupol 1937).

Russia before the Revolution.⁸ Yet, in their cultural isolation both in the mountainous villages in the Crimea prior to 1778 and later in their closely-knit communities, the so-called Roumaioi retained not only their Greek idiom but also their centuries-old customs and traditions. This is also clearly manifest in the small book by Kassandra Kostan with its interesting selection of old songs and poems.

Among the works translated by Kostan there is a poem in 14 stanzas with the indicative title 'The Lamentation of Sarah'. In her notes the author states that the poem is only a fragment of a larger work entitled the *Sacrifice of Abraham* and that it was composed in 1902 by Damian Bgaditsa (1850-1906), a popular Greek poet from the village of Sartana.⁹ As far as we know, Bgaditsa's version of the Sacrifice of Abraham in the Mariupol dialect has not attracted the attention of any scholar, except for the translation into Ukrainian made by Kostan. The original version of this poem does not survive today, neither the source nor the manuscript from which Kostan made her Ukrainian translation. Kostan, however, did not fail to recognize that the poem was linked with the Cretan drama of the Sacrifice of Abraham. The Cretan work was widely known in the Greek-speaking world and its popularity is attested by the several editions it underwent. Kostan believed that the Cretan Sacrifice of Abraham had been known to the Greeks of Mariupol before their exodus from the Crimea in 1778 through one of the many editions that were circulating

8. Writing about these Γραικοί in the periodical *Πανδώρα*, one of its subscribers from Mariupol who signed only with his initials remarked: καθώς αποβαίνει ιστορικών ζήτημα η ανακάλυψις των εκ Κριμαίας τούτων Γραικών, πόσοι, ποδαποί και πότε ως είπον, απώκησαν εκεί, και θέλετε ευεργετήσῃ την τε ιστορίαν της εσκορπισμένης ελληνικής φυλής, και τους ενταύθα μετοίκους Γραικούς εάν το εξιχνιάσητε. See P.M.K., 'Περί Μαρριανουπόλεως', *Πανδώρα* 16 (1866) 533-535.

9. Kostan, *op. cit.*, 48-50, 150-151. About the life and work of Damian Bgaditsa, *ibid.*, 40-43. Born in Sartana in 1850 and orphaned in childhood, the poet left Sartana to work as a clerk in Kiev. Later, he returned to his native village and finally settled in the village of Makedoniya (1888). His poems were never published during his lifetime, yet they enjoyed considerable popularity, especially the Sacrifice of Abraham and the biography of the life of the legendary poet Leonti Chonagbey (1853-1918).

at the time. She assumed that the drama was also known — she does not specify exactly how, whether from oral transmission or from circulating copies — in the village of Sartana. She believed that the poet decided to render it into the most predominant idiom of his day because its language had become incomprehensible to his contemporaries.

Unfortunately, we do not have any concrete information concerning the oral transmission of the Cretan drama in Southern Russia and if certain parts of the work ever passed into the oral tradition there. We do know, however, that both in Crete and in the Ionian Islands the Lamentation of Sarah was orally transmitted in various versions and was even sung as a funeral lament (μοιρολόγι).¹⁰ The oral renderings of Bgaditsa's poem surviving to this day among the Greeks living in the wider Mariupol region seem to point in the same direction. Yet in the form in which it survives today it is impossible for us to make any conjectures with regard to Damian Bgaditsa's method and how he approached the Cretan text. Kostan had transcribed considerable parts of the poem composed by Bgaditsa and by comparing them to the Cretan text she concluded that the new version by Bgaditsa was shorter than the Cretan original. But since Bgaditsa's version of the Sacrifice of Abraham has not survived in its entirety, we cannot make any conjectures as to its extent and its relationship to the Cretan original.

In her presentation of the poet and his version of the Cretan drama Kostan seems to imply that Bgaditsa composed his work on the basis of what a long oral tradition had preserved from the original in his dialect. Yet what was the extent of this orally transmitted work and how can we explain the fact that nothing at all has survived from the oral tradition from which the poet supposedly drew his material? Is it not possible that the poet simply collected and transcribed some old songs which had become obsolete and

10. Η Θυσία του Αβραάμ. ed G. Megas (Athens 1943) 94, 95-96. See also W.F. Bakker, 'Οι παλιές εκδόσεις της 'Θυσίας του Αβραάμ', *Ο Εραμιστής* 15 (1979) 23-74; D.B. Oikonomidou, 'Τρία έργα της Κρητικής Λογοτεχνίας εν Απεράνθου — Νάξου', *Κρητικά Χρονικά* 7 (1953) 112-113.

incomprehensible for his people rather than creating a new work? From the transcriptions of the poem at our disposal we see how readily the text varies from place to place both in language and verse order. The question is whether some of the most distinct variants of these transcriptions go back to the version created by Bgaditsa or to the various forms of the orally transmitted poem. But questions of this kind cannot be answered as there is next to nothing surviving of the original poem composed by Bgaditsa or of the transcriptions of his work made by Kostan. On the other hand, there is very little that connects this version of the Sacrifice of Abraham with the original Cretan drama. Its dissemination among the Greeks of Southern Russia cannot be chronologically established. The hypothesis that the Greek settlers knew the poem of the Sacrifice of Abraham from the Crimea is very likely, but it cannot be proven on the basis of the poem's vocabulary as there are few words that can link it directly to the Greek original. Comparing also the surviving lines of the poem with the Ukrainian translation made by Kostan, we notice that her Greek original cannot be re-established because in the meantime several parts of the poem/song have been forgotten, as for example four of the fourteen stanzas of the lamentation of Sarah in the Ukrainian translation.¹¹

By now it is clear that what little survives from Bgaditsa's poem are a few stanzas that are still sung in the Greek village communities of the Donetsk region. In the post-War years, especially during the period 1953-1963, T. Chernysheva¹² and A. Beletskii¹³ of Kiev University began to collect linguistic material for the study of the Greek dialects of the Donetsk region and during several expeditions they obtained among other material transcriptions of the Sacrifice of Abraham as it was still remembered in the Greek-

11. Kostan, *op. cit.*, 50, distich 10, 12-14.

12. T.N. Chernysheva, 'Itogi dialektologicheskoi ekspeditsii Filologicheskogo fakul'teta KGU v Pervomaiskii raion Stalinskoi oblasti USSR', *Naukova Sesiya KGU* (Kiev 1954) 62-65.

13. A.A. Beletskii, 'Grecheskie dialekty yugo-vostoka Ukrainy i problema ikh yazyka i pis'mennosti', *Balkanskaya filologiya, Uchenye zapiski Leningradskogo Gosudarstvennogo Universiteta* (Leningrad 1970) 5-15, esp. 8-9.

speaking villages of Sartana, Makedoniya and Khersonets. The transcriptions, which they obtained through the assistance of E.B. Khadzhinov, O. Petrenko and L. Kiryakov, consist mostly of short passages with no uniformity or fixed order in the lines of the poem. In 1991, during a visit to Ioannina for a lecture at the University, Prof. Beletskii relinquished his interest in preparing an edition of these transcriptions and generously offered me the material he had so far collected. The collection now in my possession consists of seven different transcriptions of which the two longest originate from the village of Makedoniya. The text published below is based upon one of the two transcriptions made in this Greek-speaking village and its text consists of 106 lines (M). In the notes to our edition are also given the variants of the other transcriptions that were recorded in Makedoniya (Ma), Khersonets (Kh, Khe) and Sartana (S, Sa, Sar). At this point, it is worth noting that the Greek dialects of the Donetsk region have been divided into five groups by I.I. Sokolov and D. Spiridonov.¹⁴ Our text belongs to the largest and most predominant group which includes the villages of Sartana, Makedoniya and Chermalik.

As noted above, the longest transcription of the poem at our disposal is only 106 lines in length. The text opens with the appearance of the Angels and the hospitality extended to them by Abraham and their prophecy that Sarah will give birth in her old age (l. 1-24). In the Cretan original the action begins with the order given to Abraham to sacrifice his son. So in the poem's story there are only a few elements deriving from the original. But there are some similarities observed between the two, as for instance the opening words of the Angels:

Ξύπν', 'Αβραάμ, ξύπν', 'Αβραάμ, γείρου κι ἀπάνω στάσου,
μαντάτο ἀπὸ τοῦς οὐρανοῦς σοῦ φέρνου κι ἀφουκράσου. (1-2)
Гнефа, Аврам, гнефа, Аврам, ты т'масы ус та тора?
Ато ту стýsis ту хurban, на ту пajs indun ora. (29-30)

14. Sokolov, *op. cit.*, 63-64; Spiridonov, *op. cit.*, 177: I=Urzuf and Yalita (Yalta); II=Styla, Konstantinopol' and Bolshoi Yanisol'; III= Bolshaya Karakuba, Novaya Karakuba and Bugas (Volnovakha); IV= Sartana, Chermalik and Makedoniya; V= Malo Yanisol', Novo Yanisol' and Cherdakly.

The words of Sarah at the beginning of the poem, one or two lines in her Lamentation and another two from the dialogue between Isaac and Abraham point in some ways also to the original:

- ὦ, Ἀβραάμ, ὦ Ἀβραάμ, εἰντά 'ναι τὰ δηγᾶσαι;
'ναιρεύεσαι ἢ ξυπνητὸς εἶσαι καὶ δὲν κοιμᾶσαι; (95-96)
E, si, Avram ty en tu les? Msonyxta, pos t'i t'masy?
Mija zdysens ki mija kles, t'y en si tu pirazi? (41-42)
Κ' ἐσύ 'σouvε τὰ μάτια μου κ' ἐσύ 'σouvε τὸ φῶς μου. (378)
'Tos en tuko-m tu il'u fos, tos en tuko-m t' anasa. (51)
Δέσε με, κύρη μου, σφικτὰ καὶ στάσου νὰ σοῦ δείξω,
ὄντας τὰράξω 'ς τὸ σφαγί, μὴ πάγω νὰ σοῦ 'γγίξω. (835-836)
Δesi ta serja-m, si, tata, stupu ta ftyja-m, mi 'kuyu,
Capalanefkum dinata, ki sena γο mi kruyu. (101-102)¹⁵

The language in which the poem is written is close to the dialect of Sartana as it was spoken at the beginning of this century. As we stated earlier, from the vocabulary there is no strong evidence of a direct connection with the Cretan text. The Turkish loan-words in the poem come as no surprise to us, for the Greeks of the Donetsk region were divided into two linguistic groups, the Hellenophone and the Tatarophone, even when they were living under the Tatars in the Crimea. So a considerable number of Turkisms survived and still survive long after the two groups settled in their new homes.¹⁶ Lastly, a word about the metre of the poem. It is composed in 15-syllable rhyming distichs, the first half-verses of which tend to end, as a rule, with a rhyming oxytone.

The dialect of the Mariupol Greeks until the 1930s had never been systematically written. It was only after the Revolution that writers began to use it in a variety of literary subjects in order to reach the masses. Like Pontic, it provided a rather limited vocabulary that lacked the words and idioms to convey abstract and sophisticated ideas. In 1926, the authorities, along with the Greek intelligentsia, abolished the 'katharevusa' from school

instruction and introduced the Greek demotic which for a decade became the official language of the Greek minority living in the Soviet Union. The traditional system of spelling was abandoned and except for the acute, the accents, the breathing marks, the diphthongs and certain letters were rejected.¹⁷ The sounds corresponding to ξ and ψ were written κς and πς and the digraph ου was replaced by ypsilon (υ). The i-sound was written with ι; the e-sound was always written ε, never αι; the ω disappeared altogether. Consequently, the two main dialects, Pontic and Mariupol Greek, along with demotic, were written in the Greek alphabet phonetically and with no regard to the traditional orthography. But in more recent times in writing the Greek dialects of the Donetsk region the Russian alphabet is used according to a set of rules established by Prof. A. Beletskii.¹⁸ On the basis of the reformed Greek alphabet of 1926, the Kievan scholar rendered phonetically in modern Cyrillic transcription the dialects of the Donetsk with the addition of the Greek letters, δ, θ, and γ in their corresponding consonant values. The transcribed text of the Sacrifice of Abraham has been written in modern Cyrillic according to the system of transcription devised by Beletskii.

In several studies published outside Russia the words and passages as a rule are transcribed in Latin. In a way this solves many philological problems, and in the words of R.M. Dawkins 'it can be a relief . . . to shake free from the traditional spelling, in which correctness depends on the history of the words' in a dialect often so obscure as Pontic is or the Mariupol Greek.¹⁹ In transcribing the text of the Sacrifice of Abraham from Russian in the Latin alphabet we have followed the transcription system proposed by M.V. Sergievskii in his article on the Mariupol Greek dialects. In his Latin transcription Sergievskii included the Greek consonant letters δ, θ, γ and χ which we have also retained (although χ in our transcription is written for convenience sake x):

15. *Η Θυσία του Αβραάμ*, ed. Megas, 101, 106, 120, 145.

16. O. Horbatsch, 'Türkische Lehnwörter im Dialekt der Donec'ker (Azow-) Griechen in der Ukraine', *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 3/4 (1979-1980) 421-444 (hereafter, *Lehnwörter*).

17. Cf. A. Karpozilos, 'Pontic Culture in the USSR between the Wars', *Journal of Refugee Studies* 4 (1991) 366.

18. Beletskii, *op. cit.*, 11-13.

19. Dawkins, *op. cit.*, 42.

1) i y e a o u

2) p b f v d θ δ k g γ x v s š z ž m n j r l t n c č.²⁰

The Russian letters Ъ, И and Ы in our transcription have been rendered by y, i and j respectively, according to the German 'bibliothekarische Umschrift' rules. The Greek sounds ντ, μπ, νκ written in Cyrillic д, Б, нг, are transcribed d, b, ng. Also, the sounds ζς, ζς, τς, τςς, τς, and τςς (ш, ж, ц, ч, дз, дж) are transcribed š, ž, c, č, dz and dž. The vowels e and o occur only in stressed syllables, while the phoneme i occurs after palatalized and labial consonants. One of the main characteristics of the dialect of the Roumaioi is the raising of the unstressed /o/ and /e/ to u and i and also the change of /x/, /ski/ and /ske/ before e or i to š, šči, šče (χέρι — šer). Furthermore, we observe the change of /k/ before i and e to t': kairos > t'iros, ki > t'i and ti. Accordingly, the negative particle in Mariupol Greek is both ki (ουχι) and more commonly t'i, which must be differentiated from ti = ki (καί) and 'ti or ati (εκεί).²¹ We also observe the deletion of unstressed /i/ and /u/ (σκυλί — škli, πουλί — pli) as well as the reduction of the endings of substantives (ađirfo-m, ađirfo-t). The masculine and feminine articles in the nominative singular o, η tend to disappear in all the dialects as a result of the deletion of the unstressed vowels. Yet the neuter articles survive and most of the substantives are of the neuter gender.²² To the masculine and feminine belong only those substantives which reveal their natural gender. Adjectives take the form of the neuter gender: e.g. 'rumeiku γlosa'. The adverbs are formed as in demotic Greek. Also the future is formed as in demotic with θα or να, but there is the tendency to use mostly να: 'mis na luskumas stu jalo.' Verbs of Tatar origin have the ending -evu.²³

20. Sergievskii, 535ff.

21. *Ibid.*, 535-544, esp. 540-542.

22. *Ibid.*, 550-551.

23. *Ibid.*, 550-570; Beletskii, *op. cit.*, 10.

THE TRANSCRIPTIONS

M = The text was transcribed by E.B. Khadzhinov on three sheets of paper and consists of 106 verses. At the bottom of p. 3 there is a note that the text was dictated by A.D. Khadzhinova-Bgaditsa, a native of the village of Makedoniya. As noted above, M transmits a more complete text than the rest of the transcriptions at our disposal.

Ma = The text was narrated by E. Zurnadzhi to O. Petrenko in the village of Makedoniya in September 1965. It consists of six pages and except for several omissions (verses 7-12, 17-28, 41-50, 67-68, 75-88) it reproduces more or less the text of M. There is also a distortion observed in the order of the poem after verse 52: 53-54, 65-66, 51-52, 55-64, 69-74.

S Sar = The two transcriptions were made by the well-known Greek poet Leonti Kiryakov (1919-), a native of the village of Sartana.²⁴ The first is written on two sheets of paper and is dated 1962. The text was dictated by the poet's parents, E.D and N.K. Kiryakov. S preserves only eighteen verses of the Sacrifice of Abraham extending from 1-22, with the loss of 17-20. Sar was also narrated by Kiryakov's parents in 1962, but the transcription is dated three years later in September 1965. The text consists of three pages and begins with verse 29 and finishes with 74, omitting verses 45-68. After verse 74 the narration reverses to verses 53-54, 51-52, 49-50, 57-60.

Sa = This was transcribed in Sartana by O. Petrenko on four regular sheets of paper and it is dated December 12, 1963. The text was narrated by I.D. Kharaman and extends to verse 76 but with several omissions (5-6, 9-16, 21-24, 31-33, 38). After verse 46 there is a disruption noticed in the order of the poem in the following manner: 53-54, 51-52, 57-60, 69-70, 73-76, 61-62.

24. L. Kiryakov has published one collection of his poems with the title *Amphora* (Kiev 1988) and edited an anthology *Pirnesu Astru* (= Morning Star): *Styxja, Piimata, Ayimata* (Donetsk — Donbas 1988).

Kh = The text was transcribed on seven regular sheets of paper by O. Petrenko and extends from verses 1 to 88. At the bottom of p. 7 there is a note that the transcription was made in Khersonets in September 1965. The text was narrated to Petrenko by Anna Demyanovna Bgaditsa-Khadzhinova, who seems to be the same person who provided the transcription of M. Kh omits several verses (17-20, 25-28, 39-40, 45-46, 53-54, 61-64) and disrupts the order after verse 48: 51-52, 49-50, 55-60, 65-70.

Khe = The transcription was made by O. Petrenko in September of 1965 in Khersonets. The text consists of five sheets of paper covering verses 1-82 with several omissions (7-8, 11-12, 17-28, 39-40, 45-46, 52-53, 61-62, 65-68, 77-80). After verse 44 there is a disruption in the order (51-52, 49-50) and the same is observed after verse 70 with a reversal to 63-64. The order is restored after verse 73.

THE TEXT

Ena t'iro pas tu mismer, pas mismiri t' zistaða¹
Kaθandan pkas tu² δindro Aj-Avrams ti Sara.³
'Ty zdyxanan⁴, ot' yerasan pes tu pula⁵ n' blušija
Limbizmen ot' perasan n' dunja liyus piðija.⁶

5 Iksin ta loja-tin θios pas mismiri t' zistaða,
Anijn tot n' ora uranos, katejn katu triaða.⁷

1. Ax il'u tn' apsaða Ma | pas il'u t' zestaða Sa | pas tu mismer, ena t'iro, Mlumen
'x il'u t' apsaða S.
2. 'p katu stu S.
3. Tir Avraams ki Sara Ma.
4. Zdixan Sa
5. meya Ma Sa
6. ot' erasan stu dunja liyus piðija S Sa.
Ke limbizmen tu perasan pes tu pula m' plušija S
Limbizmen ot' perasan pes tu meya m' plušija Sa.
7. Toun' ora iksindu θeos. Anijn oranos, ki katejn katu triaða Ma.

Pula t'iro t'i perasin, drana Avrams pes strata
tris arxundas, ti kalisin-c pes tuko-t n' balata.⁸

Avrams:

Pas tu mismer 'nda tutu t' zest pu leti na paenit?

10 Exu niro, ilat pliθet, ti kaθumas⁹, zdyšenum.
Tmazum tu troyum tu mismer¹⁰ ti peftit kana ora,
Stera skuθusas¹¹ tu vraðmer, paenit and' avora.

Eban pesu arxundað,¹² kalmersan, plyθan, kac pan.¹³

Avrams efsaksin tu mskar-t, na-c siljaisny 'tmastan.

15 Sureftan¹⁴ lorja stu trapez, 'ti¹⁵ ta faija flayny.
Avrams n' plušija-t, pjakin¹⁶ le-c, ot teš tajfa na fayny.

Enas ax trijaða:

'X tu ty sis isas tušnimen, ty xasivet sis ešit?
Stun θio ola en malem, ti tekna sis θa eščit.

Avrams

Tu xasivet mas en ato, ot t' exum mis piðija.¹⁷

20 Tu protu mas tu inito¹⁸ as en θiu t' θisija.

Ax tris-tyn toty is-tyn le-c¹⁹: 'Pas ta ineja minis

8. Avraams drana tris arxundaðe. 'Ti sma flayni pes strata.
Pijn ki le-c: 'uriset, lat, sis pes tuko-m mpalata' Kh
Drana Avraams tris arxundas, Vreθane mesa strata.
Pijn ke le: 'Uriset 'lat, sis pes tuko-m n' palata.' S
Pula ora t'i perasin, irtan tri arxundað,
Eban pesu, kalmersan, orsan, kaθsan-c as tu stol Sa.
9. ki kaθisic zdyšenyt S.
10. Tu vreθin troyum tu fai S.
11. sikusas steras S | skusas Kh.
12. Apesu orsan tri arxond S | Irtan ati tri arxundað, Avraam efsaksin tu mskar-t
Na-c siljaisni tmastan Ma
13. Ekusan, irtan arzundað, irtan, pliθan, kaccan Khe.
14. Kaccan Ma Khe.
15. pu S.
16. staθin Ma.
17. Tušnimen imas ot erasam, ki den exum piðija Sa.
18. Tu siftuno mas tu bala Sa.
19. Atotes 'x tris-tyn is-tyn le S.

Ineka-s Sara tha inys piði²⁰ sta yerusinis-c'.
Sara t'i thelin na psteps,²¹ pas ta ininynda xronja
Ot eš čara na dajaneps vareja piđiponja.

- 25 Perasan pula xronja ti pas mismiri t' zistađa
kažandan pkas tu šindro Ai-Avrams ti Sara.
Zmonsan tu logu tun θio xurban ot exny na payny:
Tu protu-tyn tu inito, ki xabarja pa den flayny.²²

Dauš stun ipnu:

Γnefa, Avram, γnefa, Avram, ty t'masy us ta tora?²³

- 30 Ato tu styšsis tu xurban, na tu pajs indun ora.
Na si tu pu, tun jo-s na fsaks, γo imy pilimenus,
Na vals futija, na tun kaps, pu itun styšimenus.²⁴

Ama džunaj, uryz θios, na pars ti²⁵ tu piði-su,
Na fenit embru-s ena fos,²⁶ si na paens apisu.²⁷

- 35 Pu sma na stykit²⁸ 'to tu fos, 'ti sma vals futyja.
'Ti sma na fsaks, na kaps tun jo-s²⁹ 'ndu tymizku-s n'
karđyja.

Avrams

Vaj, ty orima en tu dranu, θelu³⁰ na tu aksisu.³¹
Irtin³² dauš ap uranu, uriz-mi na γnifisu.

20. Ineka-s Sara tha krimsty S.
21. Sara t' thelin na tu psteps Kh.
22. Perasan pula xronja, Avraams ki Sara
Zmonsan ot šokan loyu tun θeo
Na payni tu sifteznito-tin inito xurban stun θeo Sa.
23. Pos t'masi os atora Sar | uškatora Kh Khe Ma Sa.
24. styximenus Sar.
25. si Kh | Na paris tu piði su Ma | ki apar tu piði su Sar.
26. Embru-s tha fenyt ena fos Ma Sa Sar.
27. si pa tha pajs apisu Ma | ki tha pajs si apisu Sa | si tha paens apisu Sar.
28. Pu sma tha staθi Ma | Apu stikit ato tu fos, si na vals futija Sa | Pu tha staθi
ato tu fos Sar.
29. 'Ti sma tha vals na fsakse tun jo-s Ma | Na fsakse, na kapsc, 'ti-sma tun jo-s Sa.
30. t' θelu Kh Khe Ma
31. γrikisu Sar.
32. Erkit Ma Sar.

Ta loja-t en kaka, pirka,³³ koma erkny sta ftyja-m.
40 Pula pikra ti fuvira farmakusan n'karđija-m.

Sara:

E, si, Avram,³⁴ ty en tu les? Msonyxta,³⁵ pos t'i³⁶ t'masy?
Mija zdyšens ki mija kles, ty en si tu pirazi?³⁷

Avrams:

Eđusa³⁸ loyu tun θio per na exum³⁹ piđija,⁴⁰
Tu protu-mas tu inyto na en afto⁴¹ θisyja.

- 45 Irtyn dauš ap uranu,⁴² uryz-mi na trumazu,
Ma den na paru afto t' army, ma puju γo na sfazu?

Sara:

Pu na evru loja γo na pu, ki đakru γo na klapsu?⁴³
Xaršu sta tutu tun kajmu tyyla na tu perasu?

- 'Tos en tuko-m tu džkar,⁴⁴ tos en ta nifrija-m,⁴⁵
50 T' agapimenu-m tu pal'kar⁴⁶ pratza tun pkas⁴⁷ karđija-m.

'Tos en tuko-m tu il'u fos, tos en tuko-m t' anasa.⁴⁸
Para tha par tona θiγos, as par taka-m ta mat'ja.⁴⁹
Θe-mu, tu olu-mas t' xara, atos en tu zui-mas.⁵⁰
Parakalum, an eš čara, xarsi-mas tu piði-mas.

33. Ta loja-t kaka fuvira Sa | Ama ta lojat fanyra Sar.
34. Avram, Avram, Sar.
35. msonyxta-s Kh Khe Sa.
36. den Sa.
37. tu si perazy Sar.
38. Γo šoka Sar | Mis šokam Sa.
39. an exum mis Sar.
40. Eđusa loyu tun θio tu protu mas tu piði su Khe.
41. sta 'to Sa.
42. Dauš ikxa ap' oranu Sa.
43. Ti đakru na tjunosu Kh.
44. tu il'u fos Khe.
45. Si isi tuko-m tu džkar, si isi ta nyfrija-m Sar.
46. piði Khe.
47. pkan Khe | pratza si pkas n' karđijam Sar.
48. 'Tos itun il'u mas tu fos, 'Tos itun t' anasam Ma.
49. Para tha par 'sena θeos, as par mena, 's mi xasi Sar.
50. Si isi olu-mas t' xara, si isi tu zoi-mas Sar.

- 55 Ɖe-mu, as par karðija-m tu ratlyx,⁵¹ as par olu-m n' plušija,
 As pilis panu-m tu xytlyx, 'nda ola ta zinija.
 T' akyrvo-m tn' ija si as vzis,⁵² 's mi ðos⁵³ irajða, ponja.
 T' sarka-m olu 's tu katylis,⁵⁴ 's travysu pula xronja.
 Anda ða pesu stu tabut, t' alu 'nda ða ɣnyfisu,⁵⁵
 60 Monu n' akusu⁵⁶ tu dauš-t, pal puru na zdanysu.⁵⁷
 Tu džinem kako⁵⁸ fuviro, pu vraz apso⁵⁹ silitra,
 'To en kako⁶⁰ pula lafro xaršu s' tuko-mas pikra.⁶¹

Avrams:

- Mis imas pkas ðiyu tu šer, tun ponu-mas 'tos kser' tu.
 Ax s' ols arotyta 'tos per,⁶² 'x ta mas pelsin, irev-tu.
 65 'Ti⁶³ isy si, stun urano, sajan sufjanima-su,
 An tuko-s tu oryzmu,⁶⁴ as en tu ðilima-su.

Dauš stun ipnu:

- Avram, perasin t'iros, pos tu paramakrenit?
 N' akus ta loja-sas ðiyos, na mi tun kakufenit.

51. As par mpšim, tu exu tu ratlix Kh Khe.
 52. tn' ija as vzis Khe | as tu vzis Kh Ma | t' ija as vzis Sar.
 53. ðok Ma Khe Sa | 's mi ðon Sar.
 54. Olu tu sarkam 's katelys Sar.
 55. Pestu tabut 'nda ða pesu, alu 'nda tða ɣnefisu Sa.
 56. 's akusu Sa.
 57. Monu an 'kusu tu dauš-t, puru pal na zdanysu Sar | puru pal Sa | puru pal na gnefisu Kh Khe.
 58. tosu Ma.
 59. vraso Ma | Tu džinem en fuviro, pu vraz zisto pisa Sa.
 60. pula Ma Sa.
 61. sta tutu-m pikra Ma Sa.
 62. arotita ta per Ma.
 63. Pu Kh Ma.
 64. An en tukos tu orizmo Kh Ma.

Avrams:

- Sara, ksapela-tu tu kles, tun Isak si ortun.⁶⁵
 70 's ɣnifis, 's skuðy⁶⁶ ki as fures, ki t' vluija-s ðos tun.
 Isak⁶⁷ t'maty ki ɣila pkas ta sprucka ta zdonja,
 Stun ipnu-t pa tos t'i drana,⁶⁸ mana-t ta es ta ponja.

Sara:

- T'mið, tu piði-m, na mi ɣnifas,⁶⁹ irta na si ɣnifisu.
 An ɣnifis pa,⁷⁰ mi⁷¹ rutas pu ɣo ða si pilisu.⁷²
 75 Na si tu pu, ɣlosa-m t' ða klos, 'ti pu ða pajs 'ndu ny-su.⁷³
 Ɖo pikrumen ðina-m t' ða sos tu loy-u-m na ptraisu.

Dauš:

- Avram, si ða na-c xjeps⁷⁴ tu Isak ki Sara,
 Toty, 's tu ksers, ða xazaneps 'x tun ðiyo katara.
 Ɖiyu grafi, Ɖiyu ukum, Ɖiyu ðitiusini
 80 'Ta purun na mitalayun anda smiliusinis.

Avrams:

- Ɖnefa Isak, ɣnefa, Isak, ɣnefa pši ki ayapi,
 Ɖnefa, paraðus-m tu čičak, ɣnefa, pikra-m, ty t'maty?

Isak:

- Ty mi gnifas liyus t'iro, tu t' ituny kamija.⁷⁵
 Panda gnefana tun pirno an mana-m lalašija.
 85 Dranu ɣo t' mana-m ðakrumen. Pos t' erkit sma-m, t'i fla mi?
 Stykit ðili ki pikrumen, ati pos t'i gnyfa-mi?

65. Vai, si Sara, son tu kles Sa | Ksapela Sara, son' tu kles, ortun Isak, 's ɣnefisi Sar.
 66. S'ɣnefis, s' nifti Sa | 'Tos an skuði ki an fures, na mi tun lojanjzis Sar.
 67. Ɖalteja Khe | Ɖalteja ð'masi ki elas Sar.
 68. 'Tos stun ipnu-t pa t'i drana Khe | Zer si stun ipnu-s t'i dranas Sar.
 69. ð'mið tu piðim, ð'mið, mi ɣnefas Sar | Vai, si ð'masi tu piðic-m Sa.
 70. Ma an ɣnefis-pa Khe | An si ɣnefisu na mi rutas Sa Sar.
 71. na mi Kh Ma.
 72. Ɖo pu ða si pelisu Kh Khe Sa Sar.
 73. Ti ða paðs andu nysu Sa.
 74. si an ða na-c xjeps Kh.
 75. Tu t' ituni kamija Kh.

Avrams:

Turya si xrasta ki 'x ta to irta šafto-m, gnifu si.
Xurban θa payum tun θiyo ki xraškit⁷⁶ na si lusi.

Ena t'iro pas tu vrašmer ki pas il'u tn' avora

- 90 Pjakin Avrams tun jo-t 'x tu šer, ipin: 'θa paenum mis tora'.
Embru-tyn fanyn ena fos, 'ty šavany apisu.
'Tu fos 'nda eš t'iro⁷⁷ na klos, 'ti sma na⁷⁸ si vluisu'.

Tu fos 'nda staθyn sma stn' uba, varnyn Avram n' karšija.
Tot' estyksini tu xurban-t⁷⁹ 'ti sma na val futyja.

- 95 'Ti sma 'tos sorivin jaxar, psilutcka čatalyča.
Isak pa eftajny jardym 'nda mkucka⁸⁰ ta širiča.

Isak:

Tata, pu en tuko-mas tu xurban, pu en θiyo t' styšyja?
Joxsam efsaksis tu mskar stun θiyo θisija?

Avrams:

- Isak, Isak, si, tu piði-m, tuko-m si tu piðasu,
100 Si mena kamyškis jardym, ma sena yo θa fsaksu.⁸¹

Isak:

Δesi ta šerja-m, si, tata, stupu ta ftyja-m, mi 'kuyu,
Čapalanefkum⁸² šinata, ki sena yo mi kruyu.

- Avrams sikusin tu mašer-t⁸³ na sfaksi tun Isati,
Katejn andilus, pjakin tu šer-t ti ipin: 'Mi tun sfaks⁸⁴ si.
105 θiyoš iðini n' pistyja-s ki xarix⁸⁵ si tu piðati-s.
Xaršu stu mega-s t' θisija 'tos pelsin si arnati'.

76. xrazit Kh.

77. čara Ma.

78. θa Ma.

79. Estiksin toti tu xurban Ma.

80. mkucka-t Ma.

81. sfasu ma.

82. 'Nda čapalanefkum Ma.

83. mašer Ma.

84. sfazs Ma.

85. ti xaryz Ma.

TRANSLATION

Once upon a time at noon, in the heat of noon
Saint Abraham and Sarah were sitting under a tree,
Talking of how they had grown old in great wealth
Regretting that they had traversed life without children.

- 5 God heard their words in the heat of noon
The heavens opened at that moment; the Holy Trinity
| descended.

And it was not long to pass before Abraham saw in the street
Three nobles and invited them to his abode.

Abraham:

At noon, with this heat, say, where are you going?

- 10 I have water. Come to wash, to sit and talk.
We prepare to eat at noon and you may rest for an hour
Later in the afternoon, you go with the breeze.

The nobles entered, greeted, washed and sat down.
Abraham slaughtered his calf and prepared to feast them.

- 15 They gathered around the table, where the food was stored
Abraham, with his wealth, bade them to partake of all that
| the family had.

One of the Trinity:

Why so are you sad, what is your worry?
Everything is known to God; you shall have children.

Abraham:

Our worry is that we do not have children.

- 20 Our first-born, let him be offered as a sacrifice to God.

Thereupon, one of the Trinity says to them: 'In nine months
Your wife Sarah will have a son in her old age'.
Sarah did not want to believe that in her nineties
She had the will to suffer heavy labour.

25 Many years passed and in the heat of noon,
 Saint Abraham and Sarah sat under a tree.
 Forgetful of their word to offer as a burnt offering to God
 Their first-born and that they had not kept the promise.

A voice in his sleep:

Wake up, Abraham. Wake up. How can you sleep until now?
 30 The burnt offering you agreed upon, it is time to carry it out.
 I am dispatched to tell you to slay your son,
 To make a fire, to burn him, the pledged one.
 Make haste, orders God, to take along your son,
 A light will appear before you; stay behind it, you must.
 35 Near where the light stands, there you shall make a fire.
 There you shall slay him and with clean heart shall burn
 | your son.

Abraham:

Alas, what a vision do I see, I [do not] want to acknowledge
 | it.
 A voice from heaven comes down to me, orders me to
 | awaken.
 The words are bad, bitter, they still come to my ears,
 40 So bitter and terrible, they poison my heart.

Sarah:

Eh, you, Abraham, what are you talking about? Why are
 | you not asleep in the middle of the night?
 One moment you talk, the next you cry out. What is it
 | that bothers you?

Abraham:

My word I gave to God, if we have children, to take away
 Our first-born to be a sacrifice.
 45 A voice from heaven came and orders me so that I
 | am terrified,
 Not to take this lamb, but which one do I slay?

Sarah:

Where do I find the words to tell, the tears to cry?
 With sorrow of this kind, how can I overcome it?
 He is my very flesh, he is my inmost soul,
 50 My beloved boy, the one I treasure in my heart.
 He is the radiance of my sun, the breath of my life,
 Rather than God takes him from me, better He takes my
 | own eyes.
 My God, he is our whole joy, our very life,
 We beseech you, if it is your will, grant us our child.
 55 My God, may you take away the peace of my heart, may
 | you take away all my riches,
 May you cast upon me famine, with all kinds of ill fortune.
 May you extinguish my precious health, may you give me
 | wounds, pains.
 My whole flesh may you kill, letting me but drag along for the
 | rest of my years.
 When I lie dead in my coffin and awake on the other side,
 60 If only I hear his voice, again I will come back to life.
 Hell is an evil, terrible place, which boils hot [as pitch],
 But this ill is very much lighter than our bitter woes.

Abraham:

We are under God's hand, our suffering He knows.
 He takes away without asking from everyone, yet for us He
 | sent out seeking him.
 65 You who are in heaven, as it is your wisdom also,
 If it is your command, then your will be done.

A voice in his sleep:

Abraham, the time has passed, why do you prolong it?
 God may hear your words, let Him not be offended.

Abraham:

Sarah, stop crying and awaken Isaac.

- 70 Let him awake, rise up, dress and give him your blessing.
Isaac lies asleep and smiles under his white sheets.
In his sleep he does not see, his mother has the pain.

Sarah:

Sleep, my child, do not get up, [although] I came to awaken
| you

But if you should awaken, do not ask where I send you.

- 75 I will tell you — my tongue cannot utter the words —
| take care where you go.
Sorrowful as I am, my strength endures not to finish my
| words.

Voice:

Abraham, if you pity Isaac and Sarah,
Then let it be known to you, you earn God's curse.
It is God's writ, God's word, God's justice,

- 80 Which can be changed with deeds of charity.

Abraham:

Wake up Isaac. Wake up Isaac. Wake up my soul, my love,
Wake up, flower of my paradise. Wake up, my sorrow,
| why do you sleep?

Isaac:

Why do you wake me, when there is no need?
In the morning I always rise with my mother's caresses.
85 I see my mother tearful. Why does she not come close
| and kiss me?
She stands sad and sorrowful, why does she not awaken me?

Abraham:

I needed you early, therefore I came myself to awaken you.
We shall take a burnt offering to God, [your mother]
| needs you to wash you.

And the time came to pass, in the afternoon, in the cool
| of the day

- 90 Abraham took his son by the hand, said: 'we shall go now'.
A light appeared before them, they went behind it.
'When the light vanishes, near there, I will bless you'.

When the light stood near a hill, Abraham's heart became
| heavy.

Then he placed his burnt offering, near there the fire to light.

- 95 Around there he gathered kindlings, small brushwood,
Isaac too with his small hands, helping.

Isaac:

Tata, where is our burnt offering? Where is God's pledge?

- 100 You do not slaughter the calf as a sacrifice to God?

Abraham:

Isaac, Isaac, you, my child, my own small child.
You who are helping me. It is you I shall slay.

Isaac:

Bind my hands, tata. Plug my ears not to hear,
As I struggle with force, not to hit you.

Abraham raised the knife to slay Isaac,
An angel came down, grasped his hand and said: 'Do not
| slay him.

- 105 God saw your faith and grants your small child.
Instead of your great sacrifice, He sends you a small lamb'.

LINE COMMENTARY

(Words occurring in the variants are provided with an *)

1-2. Pas tu mismer, pas mismiri: pas/pasu (πάνω) — preposition of place, which must be distinguished from pes/pesu (μέσα); cf. 1. 3: pes tu pula. Pas tu dunja, pesu t' strata; also pes tu spit, pes ena mera; Sergievskii, 564; * Mlumen: 'hidden, withdrawn'

from *mulonu* (μουλώνω); Sergievskii, 541; O. Horbatsch, 'Das klassische Erbe im Wortschatz der Azow-Griechen von Velyka Novosilka (Velykyj Janysol)', in *Studia Indogermanica et Slavica. Festgabe für Werner Thomas (Specimina Philologiae Slavicae)* (Munich 1988) 316 (hereafter, *Erbe*). Pkas or pkax: under (ἀπό κάτω); Sergievskii, 564-565.

3-4. 'Ty, pl. of (a)tos, aty, ato; atyn, ata (αὐτός); Sergievskii, 558. Zdyxanan: zdyšenu or sydyšenu and synšenu 'discuss' from συντυχαίνω; Sergievskii, 546. Ot' : ὅτι. Pes tu pula n' blušija: 'in their great wealth'. The inanimates become formally neuter and the feminine endings tend to be replaced by the neuter, as this example shows; cf. also line 7. Blušija, formed evidently from the feminine substantive ἡ πλουσία (wealth), which we encounter also in Pontic; A. Papadopoulos, *Ιστορικὸν Λεξικὸν τῆς Ποντικῆς Διαλέκτου*. II (Athens 1961) 205 (hereafter, Papadopoulos). Limbizmen: limbizum 'desire' (λιμπίζομαι). Dunja: 'world' from Tatar dunya. Liyus 'without': liyus ta mena 'without me'; Sergievskii, 565.

5. Iksin: akuyu, ikega, iksa (ακούω). Sergievskii, 571.

7-8. Pula t'iro t'i perasin, 'it did not pass long time'; note that the verb here stands in the 3rd person. Drana: 'sees' from εντρανίζω; dranu, dranana, dransa; Sergievskii, 541, 558. Ti kalisin-c': 'and invited them'. Pes tukot-t n' balata: tuko-m, tuko-s tuko-t (δικός μου). Atos en tuko-mas aθarpus; Sergievskii, 558. Balata: 'abode' from Rus. palata.

9-10: 'Nda tutu t' zest: 'with this heat'. An (and depending upon the case anda or andu): with; Sergievskii, 565. Letin: 'λέτε' 2nd pl. of leyu (λέγω). Exu: 'έχω', ešs, eš, exum, exit, ešit and ešcit, exni; Sergievskii, 568. Ti kaθumas: 'and we sit', from the middle passive kaθumin -θisin -θitin, kaθumas -θisas -θundin (κάθομαι). *Stol: 'table', Rus.

11-12. Tmazum tu trogum: 'lit. we prepare that which we eat'; tu trogum: in the place of ■ relative pronoun only the article is used, as in line 69: 'ksapela-tu tu kles', * 'Son tu kles'. For the same usage in the Cretan text of the Sacrifice of Abraham, see Megas, 166. Tmazum: tmazu (ετοιμάζω); Sergievskii, 539. Ti peftit kana ora: peftu, epifta, episa 'go to bed' (πέφτω); Sergievskii, 546. Kana ora: 'for about an hour'; for kanis, kana, see Sergievskii, 562. Skuθusas: future, 2nd plural, from skum, skotha, 'get up', (σηκώνομαι). Vraθmer: formed by analogy like mismer, lines, 1, 9. And' avora: 'with the breeze'. Avora: 'breeze' formed from the Greek βορέας; in Pontic also βόρα or αβόρα, see Papadopoulos, I, 191. Consider also the adj. avuriyos; Sergievskii, 556; Horbatsch, *Erbe*, 319.

14. Efsaksin: The reason for the change of the consonants from σφ to φσ is not very clear, yet it is observed in various words: fsaynu (σφάζω), efsaksa; fsaliyu (ασφαλίζω). Mskar: 'calf' (μοσχάρι); Sergievskii, 546. Na-c: να τους. Siljaisny: 'feed' from Tatar šyšlajiz; cf. Horbatsch, *Lehnwörter*, 438.

15-16. Sureftan lorja: 'gathered around' from surevu, soripsa (σωρεύω); Sergievskii, 539. Lorja (ολόγυρα); Sergievskii, 563, 566. Le-c: 'says to them'; c: accusative plural of (a)tos, (a)tyn, (a)tic; Sergievskii, 558. Taifa: 'family' from Tatar taife.

17-18. 'X tu ty. Ax 'from', possibly deriving from εκ/εξ; cf. ax tu bazar, ax ta mena. Ax tu ty? 'why'; Sergievskii, 564. Tušnimen: 'thoughtful, pensive' from Tatar düšün; in Pontic τουσουνεύκομαι, see Papadopoulos, II, 407. Xasivet: 'melancholy, gloom' from Tatar kasavet; Horbatsch, *Lehnwörter*, 442. Malem: 'it is known', from Tatar malum, -em, 'decree'.

20. Tu inito: το γεννητό, 'first born'. *Tu syftuno: 'first-born', from Tatar siftah 'beginning, first'; Horbatsch, *Lehnwörter*, 437; formed from the ending -inos and siftah as also in Pontic σιφταζ'νός; Papadopoulos, II, 283. *Bala: 'child', from Tatar, pl. balaiða; Horbatsch, *ibid.*, 429. The words from Tatar form

the plural in -ida, as in line 57 γiraiδα; Sergievskii, 540, 553.

21-22. Ax tris . . . le-c: 'One of the three then says to them.' *Ineka-s Sara θα krimsty: 'will give birth' from krymixkum or krimiskum 'fall down', but in Pontic the verb designates the infirm and ailing. Also a woman who had an abortion is said that she 'εκρεμίστε'; Papadopoulos, I, 497; Horbatsch, *Erbe*, 316. Gerusini: 'old age'; cf. γεροσύνη, E. Kriaras, *Λεξικό της Μεσαιωνικής Ελληνικής Δημώδους Γραμματείας 1100-1669*, IV, Thessaloniki 1975, 267 (hereafter, Kriaras).

24. Ot eš čara na dajaneps: čara 'means', from Tatar čare; Horbatsch, *Lehnwörter*, 430. Dajanevu — dajaniva — dajanipsa 'endure, suffer', from Tatar dajanmak; Horbatsch, *ibid.*, 431, Piđiponja: 'labour.'

27-28. Zmonsan: 'forgot' (λησμονώ) from zmuniskum; Sergievskii, 541. Xurban: 'sacrifice' from Tatar kurban. Xabarja pa den flagny. Xabar, pl. xabarja: 'message, news', Tatar xabar. Pa: 'and', 'also', used as an enclitic; cf. si pa irtis. Sergievskii, 566.

29-30. Γnefa: γnefu or γnifu, γnefana 'awake, get up' (γνέφω). Ty t'masy: 'why, are you asleep' (κοιμάσαι). Ato tu styšsis: 'that you agreed upon', from styšsizu/styxsizu (στοιχίζω), see also styšimenus, line 32. Indun: or itun, impf. imun/a or imni, isni, utun(i), imnas and imnis, isnits, itan(i); Sergievskii, 568.

31. Γo imy pilimenus: 'I am sent/dispatched', from pilyyu 'to send' (απολύω); Sergievskii, 568; Horbatsch, *Erbe*, 316.

33-34. Ama džunaj: 'go immediately'. Aman 'immediately', Turkish hemen (also Pontic αμάν); cf. Horbatsch, *Lehnwörter*, 428. Džunaj: imp. from džunevu -naiza, -naisa 'move, depart', cf. džönölmek and Turkish. jönölmek; Horbatsch, *ibid.*, 432; cf. also the expression aman džunevom, 'let's go now', in Sergievskii, 542. Na fenit: 'will appear', the future is formed with va. Embru: 'in front, before'; apisu: 'behind'; Sergievskii, 565, 566.

35-36. Pu sma: 'near where' (όπου σιμά); Sergievskii, 563, 565. 'Ndu tymizku-s n' karđyja: 'With clean heart'. Andu or anda 'with', see also line 9; xarti anda paleja ta yramata; Sergievskii, 565. Tymizku: 'clean', from Tatar temiz and the Greek ending -iko.

37-38. Aksisu: 'evaluate'; cf. Kriaras, II, 297. The transcriptions Kh Khe and Ma read t' θelu na tu aksisu, which, I think, passes better in the context. Dauš: 'voice', Tatar tavuš. *Frikisu: 'comprehend'.

41-42. Ty en tu les: 'tu les'; For the article in the place of a relative pronoun, cf. line 11. Ty en si tu pirazi?: cf. τί ἔν τὸ ἔχεις, Κύριε Μόσχε; Ioannes Moschos, *Pratum Spirituale*, PG 87, 3064B.

46-47. Puju: 'which', irrespective of gender, pujus, puju, pl. puja (ποιός, ποιό). *Ti đakru na t'junosu: usually in the form kunono, -nuna, -nusa (κενώνω) empty; cf. Kriaras, VIII, 139.

48. Xaršu: 'in front, against', from Tatar karšy. Tyyla: tyl(u)yu or tyylu, tyluγa (τι λογής) 'of what sort, kind', irrespective of gender; Sergievskii, 561.

49-50. Džkar: or džigar 'liver' from Tatar ciger (τζιγέρι); Horbatsch, *Lehnwörter*, 432. 'Tos en ta nifrija-m: 'kidney, as a seat of desires and affections in soul'; cf. Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, 907, and Kriaras, XI, 240. Pratzatun pkas karđija-m: 'Whom I kept in my heart'. Pratzat: from pratzizo and pratevu, pratzat 'carry', of uncertain etymology; Sergievskii, 546, 568.

55-56. As par karđija-m tu ratlyx: 'let him take the peace from my heart'. Ratlyx: 'peace', from Tatar rahatlyk; Horbatsch, *Lehnwörter*, 437. As pilis: 'let him send', from pilyyu, cf. I. 31. Xytlyx: 'famine', from Tatar kytlyk. 'Nda ola ta zinija: 'with all the damage', possibly from the Gr. ζημία.

57-58. T' akyrvo-m tn' ija si as vzis: 'you may extinguish my precious health'. Vzis: σβύνω. Irajda: 'wound' from Tatar yara. Katyli: 'kill, murder', from Ottom. katil, but possibly from καταλύω. 'S travysu: 'let me drag along' from travu (τραβώ). However, Horbatsch, *Erbe*, 317, translates the verb travyskum 'to be ashamed'.

59-60. Anda: 'when' from Gr. ὄντας or from Tatar andak?; Sergievskii, 566; Horbatsch, *Lehnwörter*, 434. Tabut: 'coffin', from Tatar tabyt; Horbatsch, *Lehnwörter*, 439. T' alu 'nda tha gnyfisu: 'when I will awake on the other side'. Zdanysu: 'come to life', most likely deriving from the verb 'ζωντανώνω' which occurs also in Pontic; cf. Papadopoulos, I, 344; zdanos (ζωντανός), in Sergievskii, 541.

61. Džinem: and dzanem 'hell' from Tatar cehennem; Horbatsch, *Lehnwörter*, 432. Pu vraz apso silitra: 'Which boils hot . . .?' Silitra: unknown word to me. In the variant Sa the text reads pisa (πίσσα), 'pitch, tar'.

63-64. Šer: 'hand' (χέρι); Sergievskii, 537, 541. Ax s' ols arotyta 'tos per: 'From all he takes away without asking'. Arotyta: 'without asking' adv. formed from αρώτητος. 'X ta mas pelsin, irev-tu: 'for us he sent out, seeking him'. Pelsin: 3rd sing. of pelsa (piliyu); Sergievskii, 571. Irev: seek (γυρεύω).

65-66. 'Ti isy si, stun urano, sajan sufjanima su: 'You are in heaven, as also your wisdom'? The whole passage is not very clear to me. 'Ti: εκεί. Sajan: as, like? Sufjanima: most likely deriving from σοφία. An tuko-s tu oryzmu: 'with your order'; An: 'with', of uncertain origin; cf. Sergievskii, 565.

69-70. Ksapela: 'make an end, stop', from ksapileyu, of uncertain etymology; see Horbatsch, *Erbe*, 316. * Son' tu kles: 'enough with crying'. Son: σώναι, but in Sergievskii, 563 it is recorded as an adverb 'enough'; for the syntax, see also commentary, line

11. Kles: kleyu (κλαίω); Sergievskii, 546. Ortun: 'raise, wake up' from ορθώνω. *Na mi tun lojanjasis: 'do not speak to him', deriving from λογιάζω. Fures: furenu, forsa (φοραίνω); Sergievskii, 539, 568. Vlujia: ευλογία.

71-72. *Galteja/galteja: 'sweetly' from galtys (γλυκύς); cf. 'pola galtzea loja' in G. Kostoprav, *Λεόντι Χοναγπείς*, 53; see also Sergievskii, 537. Ta sprucka ta zdonja: 'the white sheets.' Sprucka: ασπρούτσικα; Sergievskii, 541, 556. *Zer: 'in truth' from Ottom. zahir; Sergievskii, 566.

73-74. T'miθ: pres. imperative of t'mami (κοιμάμαι). Pu go tha si pilisu: 'whither/where I will send you'.

75-76. Flosa-m t' tha klos: 'Lit. My tongue will not turn, i.e. I cannot say it'. T' tha: 'will not' (ki tha). Klos: from κλώθω 'turn'; Sergievskii, 568; cf. also 'to glosa-tyn t'i kloθ': 'she cannot speak', in G. Kostoprav, *Λεόντι Χοναγπείς*, 56. 'Ti pu tha pajs 'ndu ny-su: 'there, where you will go be on your guard?', taking 'ndu ny-su' ('ndu' stands for 'andu' and means 'with'; cf. Sergievskii, 565) to be like 'to του σου'. Δina-m t' tha sos tu loyu-m na ptraisu: 'My strength will not be enough to finish my word'. Sos: σώσει. Ptraisu: fut. of bitrevu and bitrajizu, 'finish, complete', from Tatar bitirmek; Horbatsch, *Lehnwörter*, 430.

77-78. Si tha na-c xjeps: the reading of Kh makes more sense, *Si an tha-c xjeps, i.e. 'if you feel sorry for them' from xjevu; cf. To liko anda xjev t' arni, atotes plušus tha xjev ton yarip: 'when the wolf will have pity for the sheep, then the rich will also have pity for the poor,' cited in Leonti Chonagpei, *Neotita* 3 (1935) 85. Xazaneps: xazanevu, 'earn, receive', from Tatar kazanmak (καζαντίζω); Horbatsch, *Lehnwörter*, 442.

79-80. Ukum: 'word', Tatar okum; cf. 'mis exum ukum na leyum'. Aitiusini: δικαιοσύνη. Ta purun . . . smiliusinis: 'These can be transformed with deeds of charity'. Mitalayun: 'changed'; Horbatsch, *Erbe*, 320. Smiliusinis: ελεημοσύνες.

81-82. Pši: ψυχή; Sergievskii, 546; Čičak: 'flower' from Tatar čiček.

83-84. Liyus t'iro: 'untimely'; liyus: without; cf. also line 4. Tu t' ituny kamija: 'there was no need?'. Kamija: implied perhaps πορά, i.e. never; Sergievskii, 563; cf. also Pontic καμία(v). Pirno: 'morning', from πρωινό; Sergievskii, 564. An mana-m lalašija: 'with my mother's caresses' from lalaševu, -šiva, -šipsa (Gr. λαλαχεύω); cf. 'lalašev-me anemos', in a poem of G. Kostoprav, edited by L. Kiryakov in *Pirnesu Astru*, 11; cf. also in Pontic λαλαδεύω, Papadopoulos, I, 511; Horbatsch, *Erbe*, 316.

86-87. Stykit: στέκεται. Ōili: 'sad', most likely deriving from Dem. θλιβός, θλιμμός; cf. Kriaras, VII, 127-128. Gurya: 'early'; Sergievskii, 563; Horbatsch, *Erbe*, 319. Xrasta: 'I needed' from xrazum or xriskum; Sergievskii, 547; Horbatsch, *Erbe*, 317. Ki 'x ta to: 'and therefore'. Dafto-m: 'myself'; Γο daftom, in Sergievskii, 560.

91-92. Davany: aor. of payu, dava (διαβαίνω). Tu fos 'nda eš t'iro na klos: 'When the light disappears'; for κλώθω, see line 75.

93-94. Uba: 'hill' from Tatar oba; Horbatsch, *Lehnwörter*, 440. Varnyn: βάρυνη. Estyksini: 3rd sing. aorist, estyska, of stykum and stykumin (στέκομαι); cf. line 86.

95-96. Jaxar: 'kindling'. Čatalyča: čatal, 'branch, brushwood' from Tatar čatal; Horbatsch, *Lehnwörter*, 430. Eftajny jardym: eftayo jardym 'help, support' from ευτάγω (medieval Greek ευθειάζω). The expression is also found in Pontic; see A. Papadopoulos, I, 226, 325. For the Tatar jardym; kamu jardym 'I help', see also Sergievskii, 554; Horbatsch, *Lehnwörter*, 434. 'Nda mkucka ta širiča: 'with his small hands'; mkro (μικρό), Sergievskii, 537.

97-98. Stysyja: 'pledge' from styšsizu/styxsizu (στοιχίζω). Joxsam: 'or else', Turkish yoksa; cf. Sergievskii, 566; Horbatsch, *Lehnwörter*, 434.

101-101. Si mena kamyškis jardym: 'You were helping me'. Several verbs have an infix -isk- in the imperfect: valu, valiska (βάλλω), maθenu, maθeniska. Stupu: 'close, stuff up' from στουπώνω.

102. Čapalanefkum: 'struggle (to get free)', from Tatar čabalanmak. Krugu, aor. ekruya: 'hit' (κρούω).

106. Pelsin: 'sent', 3rd s. of pelsa (piliyu); Sergievskii, 571.

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Household and small-scale rural enterprises in the southern European periphery: a case-study from Peonia, Greece

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Abstract

Since the mid-1970s a number of rural areas on the periphery of Southern Europe have undergone rapid economic growth and structural transformation. They appeared to be following the earlier and much celebrated experience of the Third Italy. The major form of industrial organisation which emerged in these regions was the small 'flexible' firm, and this was widely regarded as an alternative to the Taylor-Fordist paradigm which lay at the heart of the industrialisation process of the more favoured regions, both within Southern Europe and beyond. However, almost from the outset, the idea that Flexible Specialisation presents an all-embracing, coherent robust organisational model was controversial. Several important disputes concerning the precise meaning of the term and the causes, processes and its prospects arose. Most attention was directed to Iberia, and Greece has only attracted a very limited degree of scholarly interest — despite its earlier accession to the EC.

Our study, which is based upon primary data obtained through extensive fieldwork investigation, focuses upon a particular county (eparkhia) — that of Peonia (located in Macedonia) which, we argue, exemplifies rural industrialisation. The recent history of the county illustrates a complex articulation of exogenous and local factors in generating growth. Driven by the remarkable expansion of garment manufacturing since 1978, Peonia was characterised by what we call a cost paring and cost evading regime;

a feature depressingly common to sweatshop garment producers the world over. Rather than suggesting the emergence of a brave new era of Flexible Specialisation, the case of Peonia is more akin to that of an 'informal' or 'underground' economy facing a highly uncertain future.

1. Introduction

During the course of the last decade it was widely reported that hitherto poor, bypassed and predominantly rural regions located along the southern flank of Europe, particularly in Spain, Portugal and Greece, were undergoing profound socio-economic change. Long regarded as underdeveloped and 'backward' in the sense of being characterised by peasant agrarian households practising traditional farming methods, and occupying a peripheral place on what was generally regarded as the periphery of Europe, they appeared to be following the widely endorsed case of the rapid, small enterprise led, industrial growth of *Tre Italia* (the so-called 'Third Italy') comprising the North-East and Central (hereafter called as NEC) provinces, especially Emilia Romagna (Brusco, 1982). Although generalisation across such disparate space with each region having very different endowments and following quite distinctive patterns of historical evolution must necessarily be hedged with qualification (for a classic statement see Braudel, 1972), the publication of a steady stream of detailed studies suggested that there were unmistakeable signs of structural transformation occurring (see Vasquez-Barquero, 1986, and Cuadrado, 1988, for Spain; Ferrao, 1987, for Portugal; and Stathakis, 1983, and Dokopoulou, 1986, for Greece).

The element common to these regions was the emergence of small industrial enterprises in the countryside and in clusters of small towns. The basic discontinuity can be dated confidently back to the mid-1970s. Undoubtedly this was a pivotal period in the political economy of Southern Europe (Seers and Vaitos, 1982). It witnessed the termination of the military dictatorships which, in turn, paved the way for the accession into EC of first Greece

(in 1981 — having been an associate member of the Community since 1962) closely followed by Iberia (in 1985). Integration seems to have conferred significant material benefits upon a number of formerly rather inaccessible regions, not least because it brought in its wake programmes of heavy infrastructural investment, especially roads, through the European Regional Development Fund and the European Investment Bank (Swann, 1988). Relatively isolated communities soon became part of new networks of intra-regional, inter-regional and international trade and, admittedly starting from a lower base, out-performed the growth rates achieved in metropolitan and more established urban and suburban centres. The long-standing dependence upon agriculture accompanied by periodic bouts of out-migration is being reduced, and a more diversified local structure containing important secondary and tertiary activity is being introduced.

Industrial growth in the Southern European countryside was led by a mushrooming of small, even micro-scale, enterprises which, in large measure, were family owned and family run (Williamson, 1987) — unlike the pattern of industrialisation in the more favoured regions which had occurred in the two decades following the Second World War. Whereas the earlier form of industrial organisation — a modified version of the Taylor-Fordist 'paradigm' — rested upon several familiar institutions and features such as large-scale, vertically-integrated and capital-intensive corporations located in urban environments (catering, for the most part, for an invariably highly protected domestic market, the deployment of special purpose machines in a flow-line system, the manufacture of mass-produced standardised items, and the employment of sizeable concentrations of semi-skilled labour); the principal characteristics of the rural or small town enterprises were their diversity and inherent 'flexibility' (Atkinson, 1984; Lipietz, 1986; Aglietta, 1987). Reliant upon key family members, particularly women, who often engage simultaneously in farm, household and wage-earning, these enterprises are thought to possess a considerable degree of adaptability with respect to both factor and product markets (Philimore, 1989). Due to their small, dispersed and frequently informal nature, such enterprises were

in a strong position to escape — or at least minimise — the host of fiscal and regulatory constraints that apply to their larger, more urban-based counterparts (Hadjimichalis and Vaiou, 1990). They enjoyed the advantage of being able to respond quickly to new market opportunities and benefited from the oft commented trend towards customised markets and niche products on the one hand, and the concomitant strategy by larger corporations to decentralise their production through sub-contracting, on the other.

Of course, it is just as dangerous to generalise about the existence of what might be called a 'new model rural firm' as it is to refer to the emergence of a whole class of new dynamic sub-regions. The very qualities that account for perceived success, such as the diversity through space, the flexibility with respect to shifts in market demand, the high degree of product specialisation, and the signal importance of family involvement — especially the commitment to work long and irregular hours, preclude uniform categorisation. There is widespread agreement of the need to distinguish between several very different types of 'small rural enterprises'. Brusco and Sabel (1981), for example, identified three forms: artisanal firms using traditional techniques of production and supply mainly local markets; 'dependent' firms producing standard items and selling under contract to large firms; and 'independent' or 'autonomous' firms who design, fabricate and sell in home and overseas markets. Similarly, the definitions of 'small-scale' and even 'rural' are not unambiguous, partly on account of different local and regional circumstances and also to varying national and international statistical conventions. These considerations imply the utility of locally based studies in order to enhance our understanding of the wider restructuring process. With this in view we focused our research upon one northern Greek county (eparkhia) — that of Peonia, an area which enjoyed rapid industrial growth during the last two decades led primarily by the garment industry. From this experience we set out to explain the causes and processes of industrial growth with the underlying aim of placing it in the wider context of the literature on rural industrialisation, particularly that referring to the experience of the Third Italy and to other peripheral areas in Southern Europe which have attracted recent concern.

We argue that the rapid growth of small rural enterprises after 1978 was the outcome of a three-phase pattern of development. It was initiated by the large garment manufacturers of the Federal Republic of Germany (hereafter FRG), who began to see the advantages of diffusing parts of their production to lower wage cost areas outside that country. Following on from this, links were established with return migrants from the FRG — some of whom became agents, whose role was that of intermediary between German firms and domestic producers inside Greece. They settled in the nearby city of Thessaloniki, and it was through them that sub-contracting activities were introduced into the surrounding region. Persons from Peonia — largely males — working in the city, and rural inhabitants engaged in commercial activities and petty commodity production such as retailers and bespoke tailors, soon established contacts with the agents. Several characteristics embedded in the local socio-economic structure enabled these persons to become entrepreneurs in this new line of business. These all revolved around a number of favourable locational elements including several specific to the county. As a result of the demand generated by the growth of the garment industry other secondary and tertiary activities benefited through the local multiplier effect. Thus, we see an articulation of exogenous forces combined with a set of indigenous factors which produced a form of rural industrial growth that shares some attributes with other regions of Southern Europe, but which also displays several traits specific to it.

In order to capture these features the paper is organised in the following way. Section 2 reviews the major controversies arising from the literature on rural industrialisation, particularly from the Third Italy and other areas in Southern Europe. Section 3 introduces the study area and identifies the salient socio-economic features and historical background which helps explain the emergence of local small enterprises. Section 4 considers the structure of the local enterprise sector and the ensuing pattern of growth. In Section 5 the growth of the market is charted and the response of local economic agents to new opportunities presented. This discussion is divided into two parts, the first deals with the

restructuring of the garment-producing industry in the FRG, and the second with local entrepreneurship. Section 6 examines the conduct and performance of the local enterprises and concentrates upon their strategies for adaptability and survival. Finally, we offer some conclusions regarding the comparative position of rural industrialisation in Peonia vis-a-vis Southern Europe as a whole; and this enables us to consider key aspects of the viability of this pattern of growth.

2. The Context of Rural Industrialisation

The process of rural industrialisation which occurred in the contemporary Southern European periphery has many world-wide historical precedents and parallels. Taken together it presents a very heterogeneous collection of organisational forms operating in multifarious market circumstances. There is an extensive literature covering the conduct of particular firms at the micro level, right the way through the spectrum to their macro significance across space and through time. This includes the debate on 'proto-industrialisation' in early modern Europe (Mendels, 1972, and Kriedte, Medick and Schlumbohm, 1981) and beyond (Perlin, 1983); the radical ideas of the Populists, especially those active in pre-Revolutionary Russia (Kitching, 1989); the importance of rural industries in the long-run economic development of Japan (Kada, 1983; Saith, 1987); the important role of rural non-farm employment in the Newly Industrialising Countries (Ho, 1982 and 1983); the position of 'cottage' and 'household' industry in the Less Developed Countries (Meillassoux, 1972; Shand, 1983; Slater, 1991); the labour supply from a peasant economy (Ellis, 1989; Scott, 1976); and the regional dispersion of industry in the USA and UK — the so-called 'ruralisation' phenomenon of the 1950s and early 1960s (Longsdale, 1985; Fothergill et al, 1985).

However suggestive these debates and contributions may be, it is the case of the Third Italy which has aroused the greatest attention and generated the most relevant controversies. Its Mediterranean immediacy coupled with the impact that it has had upon policy-makers and international agencies such as the OECD

and the EC, has led to serious effort to study both the reasons for success and ultimately to replicate key components of it elsewhere. With regard to providing an explanation two major schools of thought have emerged. The first attributes primary causation to indigenous factors (Fuà, 1983, 1986; Brusco, 1986) and emphasises the comparatively long tradition of manufacturing existing in NEC Italy. An efficient infrastructure linking towns to the countryside, the establishment of a democratic system of local government responsive to the requirements of small enterprises, the importance of family-run agriculture, and finally the tradition of artisanal self-employment, were all identified as crucial in enabling local entrepreneurship to flourish. By stressing continuity, this school views the phenomenon as positive and strifeless: indeed, the low degree of social differentiation and the high degree of co-operation among the small enterprises is thought to auger well for long-term viability and the maintenance of social cohesion.

In contrast, ■ second school, known as *Fabrica Diffusa*, argues that development in NEC Italy was determined largely exogenously, i.e., the spread of industry was an outcome of decisions made by big capital located in the core regions (the Milan-Turin-Genoa triangle). In the face of growing labour union militancy and rising costs, large enterprises decentralised to areas nearby (namely Veneto, Trentino-Alto Adige, Marche, Tuscany, Umbria and, of course, Emilia-Romagna). Writers such as Arcangeli et al (1983), Murray (1983 and 1987) and Hudson and Lewis (1984) point to a regime of lower unit costs in the small rural enterprises as a result of long hours, poor remuneration and the modest capital and running cost of premises. They suggest also that the future is highly contingent and dub the enterprises as 'dependent' and therefore very vulnerable. Garofoli (1982, 1984) however, in a useful contribution to the debate, while readily admitting to the notion of development from outside, introduces the idea of 'area systems' whereby groups of small firms cluster together in specific areas, and derive scale economies by sub-contracting amongst themselves and through the provision of specialist services. This adaptability suggests a viable and optimistic outcome, and Sforzi (1989),

drawing on the experience of Prato, signalled the importance of further specialisation that was taking place and thereby creating a virtuous circle of growth — a process that can be likened to what is supposed to happen in the Marshallian industrial district (Marshall, 1966, Book Four, Chapter X), whereby localised industries derive economies from the development of a market for special skills, the growth of subsidiary trades and the use of specialised machinery.

From the outset, doubts about the novelty and replicability of the Third Italy began to surface. Weiss (1988), in a powerful polemic, discussed the role of the State in 'creating capitalism' and maintained that the small enterprises owed much to sympathetic public action. Utilising the insight of Sabel and Zeitlin (1985) that craft production was by no means unusual and indeed that it offered a viable alternative mode of industrialisation to Fordism, she denies the uniqueness of the Third Italy. Piore and Sabel (1984) too, in their celebrated study, see the Third Italy as just one exemplifier of systematic change affecting capitalist industrialisation as a whole. More directly, recent work by Amin (1989a and b), Vinay (1985), Rey (1989) and Camagni and Capello (1988) provide a powerful critique of the entire framework of the Third Italy. They point to the great diversity within the NEC region itself, and the existence of several 'disguised' elements such as resort to cheap sources of North African labour and poor working conditions encountered by female and immigrant workers. This clutch of writers claims that it is inappropriate to extend the model to the rest of Southern Europe. In sum, it appears that there is not one but very many 'Third Italies'.

Recent research on the sub-regions of Spain and Portugal also illustrates the diversity of rural industrialisation.¹ Evidence relating to both 'intermediate' areas, such as La Rioja, the Balearic Islands and Valencia and relatively backward regions of Spain such

1. Although there is strong evidence for rural, small enterprise-led industrial growth in the Southern European countries, it is difficult to quantify with precision. This is because different spatial units are cited in the literature.

as Badajoz, Jaen and Burgos (Vasquez-Barquero, 1986); and from central Portugal, especially in the vicinity of Qoimbra (Lewis and Williams, 1986), suggests that they are witnessing something of a movement from the artisanal towards 'independent' firms (at least as defined by Brusco and Sabel, 1981). This gives wider credence to the optimism arising from the Third Italy, particularly as developed by Fua and Garofoli; however, the mechanisms appear to be different. The links to agriculture are confirmed but more as sources of raw materials and final product markets than in supplying a pool of entrepreneurship (Lewis and Williams, 1988). In addition, although co-operation amongst the small enterprises have been reported as being important in some of the regions (for example, the well-known Mondragon case in Spain, and Oliveira de Azameis in Portugal), in others this has failed to materialise. Finally, outside the Third Italy itself, 'area systems' are seldom found.

With regard to the pessimistic tradition, the advantages of a rural location for 'dependent' enterprises seem to have been exaggerated. Only in a few regions of Spain (such as the Valls area and around Madrid) and Portugal (Agueda) can we detect the emergence of this type of enterprise. Other elements of this tradition which are present concern the nature of the labour market. In particular, casualisation may be found in Valencia, Galicia and areas of Northern Portugal; the incidence of homeworking has increased in Ubrique and North-West Portugal; a new professional class has emerged in many parts of the Iberian countryside enjoying high incomes per capita (Hadjimichalis and Papamichos, 1990); finally the extent of informal activity has spread in regions such as Murcia, Castilla La Mancha and Valencia in Spain, and Beja, Faro and Braganca in Portugal (Miguel-Lobo, 1988).

Within this context, as far as Greece is concerned, two case studies have been published, namely Andrikopoulou on Thrace (1987 and 1990), and Hadjimichalis and Vaiou on three 'intermediate' areas (1987). The former highlighted the importance of local initiatives in bringing about industrial growth: no less than forty-two of a sample of fifty-four enterprises fell within such a category. Nevertheless, we should note that a quarter of the new

(locally initiated) firms operated almost exclusively through subcontracting, and that those firms which were either relocations or State-led initiatives tended to be substantially larger in size and so contributed much of the employment gain. Hadjimichalis and Vaiou examined the cases of Mesolongion-Agrinio (in central western Greece), Kastoria (in the north-west) and the Aegean island of Naxos. This work puts forward the idea of a new 'mode of social reproduction'. In the first two regions, they argued that dependent enterprises and homeworkers benefited from the diffusion of production by larger firms, while on Naxos the highly competitive tourist industry predominated. Incomes deriving from agriculture, the extensive use of female employment and tax evasion were common elements in all three cases. Thus, it seems that in Greece there is a greater incidence of 'dependent' firms compared to elsewhere in Southern Europe. However, the small number of case studies available constrains our understanding of the wider process.

Within this context, Peonia county constitutes a useful unit for spatial analysis. It permits insights into the phenomenon of Greek rural industrialisation — a subject scarcely studied as yet due, in large part, to the preoccupation with the Fordist model — and enables us to draw cross-regional and international comparisons. There are several other reasons which justify our focus upon Peonia. The first is that since the late 1970s it has exhibited rapid rates of industrial growth and can be regarded fairly as one of the 'intermediate areas' as defined by Hadjimichalis and Vaiou (1991). Secondly, because the county shares a number of economic and social features with rural Greece as a whole,² it provides the

2. Peonia's agrarian and agricultural structure closely resembles the average for Greece. Thus, the average size per agricultural operation is 4.7 hectares in the former and 4.4 hectares in the latter and small family-run agricultural holdings are dominant. The extent of mechanisation, one tractor per 8.4 hectares of ploughed land in Peonia, is marginally higher than the average for Greece, one tractor per 9.2 hectares; while the reverse is true as far as the amount of irrigated land as a proportion of the aggregate ploughed land is concerned (41% and 46% respectively). Land

opportunity of separating the specific factors at work from the general. Thirdly, we are fortunate in obtaining the co-operation of firms and officials who provided us with unpublished primary data. Finally, and most topically, Peonia is part of a wider area which is currently experiencing a great upsurge of nationalism and political unrest; it is now under public scrutiny in a way unknown since the First World War.

3. The Locality

Given the competition between 'peripheral' regions to supply firms and industries in core countries, the importance of local physical and socio-economic factors which may induce investment is of considerable significance. Those regions which have the advantage of location and convenient access, modern infrastructure, a supportive state and enjoy a long tradition of manufacturing clearly have an edge over others. The existence of an agrarian structure which permits small, family-run farms to co-exist with industrial activity is also of some importance. As we shall see, those regions which successfully managed to develop rural industries — including our study area, Peonia — also possess additional resources which may be deployed in the transition to a more balanced and diversified economy. However, many of these advantageous local factors and resources do not feature readily in official documentation. In order to overcome the lack of official data, and the problem of its reliability — as much of what is available is flawed — we generated our material by tapping local sources of information and conducting a stratified random survey of enterprises and farmers.

The county (eparkhia) of Peonia in northern Greece occupies an area of some 600 square kilometres and its population was

productivity is similar in the major crops (wheat, cotton and tobacco) and animal feeding in both is of minor importance. The incomes deriving from agriculture in the prefecture of Kilkis were 450 thousand drachmas compared with 356 thousand drachmas for rural Greece, while illiteracy was the same at 8.7% in 1981. Finally both Peonia and rural Greece faced a rural exodus between 1955 and early 1970s and experienced a decline in population of around 20% (1961-1981).

19,820 inhabitants in 1991 (EYSE, 1992), while administratively it constitutes one of the two counties of the prefecture (nomos) of Kilkis. The population of the county is settled in twenty-six villages and two towns (denoted as settlements with more than 2,500 persons), which constitute sixteen communities and two small municipalities (see Table 1 and Map). There is a considerable degree of socio-economic differentiation within the county. In spite of the existence of the two small towns the county is considered as rural, chiefly on the grounds that the economic role and function of its settlements is largely orientated towards agriculture — a defining feature common to many countries (Anderson and Leiserson, 1980). In fact, agriculture is by far the most important sector of the local economy in terms of employment. Just over half the total number of households are primarily engaged in it, and this figure rises to more than two-thirds (68%) if all households who are primarily and partly engaged are taken into consideration.

As far as location and accessibility are concerned, the county is well placed. It lies between the former territory of Yugoslavia to the north and the prefecture of Thessaloniki to the south (see Map). Within a short distance (50-70 km.) is the city of Thessaloniki itself — the second largest urban concentration in Greece (with a population of 739,998 persons in 1991). The city has a relatively strong industrial base; is the key market for both Macedonia and the northern zone of Greece in general; possesses one of the major ports of the Mediterranean; and has an international airport. It is also a thriving centre of garment manufacture, with approximately 75% of the 4,000 enterprises, and 24,000 workers formally registered in 1988 in the prefecture (EYSE, 1992). The city is also the location of an annual international fair for clothing (Euromode), and most of the agency houses dealing with garment exports from northern Greece have offices there.

Thus, proximity to the city has important implications for the economy of the county. These include the provision of a better level of infrastructure than would otherwise be available to comparable rural counties, the existence of sub-contracting opportunities, and the flow to and from the city of people and goods

— mainly agricultural products including raw cotton, migrants and even some commuters. The Thessaloniki-ex Yugoslavia motorway, upgraded in the mid-70s, provides access to eastern and central Peonia and, notwithstanding the current state of turmoil in the territories which were part of Yugoslavia, beyond that to the gates of the Western European markets; while the southern part of the county is connected with the Thessaloniki-Western Macedonia motorway (Map). Around these two axes an efficient local road network has been created so providing easy access for most of the settlements. The importance of roads in the growth of rural industry is verified by its clustered spatial distribution (see Map and Group B of Table 6).

There has been a long tradition of manufacturing in the county. Household production of textiles dates back at least to the mid-period of the Byzantine empire (Sakellariou, 1982), and during Ottoman rule, some of the skills of the Greek population (most of whom had retreated to the slopes of the Paiko mountains) were utilised by the Imperial army. There is evidence that by the turn of the eighteenth century (1707) eighty-nine inhabitants of Goumenissa, Griva and Karpi (see Map) were engaged in carding all the woollen textiles (Vasdravellis, 1952) produced in Thessaloniki for the Jannissaries (Faroghi, 1980). The Youroukoi population (Muslim) who inhabited most of the plains of the county, produced aba, a kind of rough woollen textile. For most of that century output increased and it was sold largely overseas. Beaujour (1974) produced some figures for these exports (c. 1787-1797) claiming that Italy absorbed 5,000 pieces annually and France 7-8,000, peaking at 15,000 in 1788. According to Moskof's research (1978), based on both primary sources (narratives and registers of official correspondence) and secondary material, this was undoubtedly an important period of manufacturing growth in Macedonia as a whole and, c.1800, some 20,000 looms were scattered throughout the region. However, this trend was reversed during the first two decades of the 19th century. The internecine wars within the Ottoman empire, combined with rising imports from France, England and Austria and the unrest which followed the War of Independence damaged local production. The competition between

Greece, Bulgaria and Serbia for control of Macedonia (1890-1910) and the uprising of 1903 disrupted the region's economy (Stavrianos, 1965).

Following the liberation of Peonia from Ottoman rule in 1912, and within the terms of the population 'exchange' between the Balkan States, the Youroukoi relocated to Turkey; and 10,036 Greek refugees mainly from Asia Minor, Thrace and Pontos (on the Black Sea), settled in the county and altered radically its ethnological composition (Wilkinson, 1951). The fresh arrivals entirely changed the aspect of the countryside (Pentzopoulos, 1962) and new artisanal skills were brought in. Thus, the county inherited a history of manufacturing and a core of entrepreneurs, but from the mid 1920s down to the early post-Second World War period there is little evidence that it experienced much industrial progress. It was the agricultural sector which exhibited some degree of growth (Hristodoulou, 1936).

Agriculture in the county was — and still is — dominated by small family holdings, mainly as a result of the operation of the land reform of the 1920s. The agrarian structure which took shape favoured small peasant proprietorships. Today the majority of farmers own a house, have a small agricultural holding divided into many scattered plots, and possess some animal stock; this ownership provides a degree of social security which represents an important adjunct to the State system. In 1990, we found that holdings of less than 2.5 hectares accounted for 64% (2,635) of all families engaged in agriculture; while at the other end of the spectrum, only 6% (268) of the families cultivated more than ten hectares each.³ This structure has important implications for the

3. Information provided by the Secretaries of the municipalities and communities of Peonia, and this proved to be one of the most useful sources for data. They occupy a unique position within the local social structure. Most are educated members of the municipalities and communities before being employed as Secretaries, so they have established relationships of mutual trust with the inhabitants. They keep records of agricultural production and the number of local enterprises. They are aware of the employment provided by small enterprises, and have knowledge of the number of households, households engaged in agriculture and the population of pensioners. Their fiscal duty derives from the tradition of the local administrative units to maintain records on taxable resources, and dates back to at least the early Ottoman rule.

potential pool of labour for rural industry, the level of wages and extra industry support for the viability of local enterprises.

The commercialisation of agriculture also has long historical roots (Moskof, 1978), and has fostered familiarity with market transactions. Cash crop production accounted for a very high proportion (84% in 1989) of the total cultivated area. The land devoted to cotton in the county is two and a half times that of the average for Greece as a whole (Lembesis, 1985). Raw cotton is ginned and spun in Thessaloniki and Kilkis; while cloth manufacture is carried out largely in Peonia and Polikastro. The availability of high quality local cotton, which in 1985 met the domestic demand, and the fact that it is manufactured within the region imparts an important locational advantage to the rural industrialists of Peonia. The predominance of a cash-crop regime, however, makes the family agricultural operations vulnerable to commodity price fluctuations. Indeed, since most agriculturalists are small-scale operators they are price-takers; and the returns they obtain from agriculture are low relative to the national levels of per capita income, 60%, and to average farm incomes in the EC as a whole, 66% (Hadjimichalis and Vaiou, 1990). The poor return from agriculture was a major contributor to the rural exodus from the county which extended from the mid-1950s to the mid-70s. Out-migration caused a reduction of some 19% of the total population (Department of Regional Development of Central and Western Macedonia, 1984). When the opportunities for emigration and internal migration dried up in the mid-1970s the need to secure an alternative source of employment and income generation became acute.

However, differences in the agricultural circumstances of the county are very pronounced. We have established three different categories of municipalities and communities which are brought out in Table 1. In all seven of the 'agriculturally prosperous' communities the average size of the agricultural holding is 47% higher than the second group while in Filiria, Polipetro, Mesia and Plagia the average is well above that. Variation in the quality of the soil enables three communities of the first group to cultivate a highly demanded by the state monopoly tobacco variety, that of Virginia.

Finally the share of irrigated land varies significantly. This disparity in the returns from agriculture is represented in the contribution of the sector in terms of employment between the first seven communities and the second category, and it is these communities who benefit from loans and subsidies (on the basis of EC regulation 797/85).

Within the farm household the role of female members is of key economic importance, especially as regards the growth of rural enterprises. Gender inequality is a prominent feature of the locality, as of rural Greece in general; and is expressed (in terms of employment) in the exclusion of females from the economically active population registered with ESYE (the National Statistical Service of Greece). Thus, in 1981, there were 3,277 women between the age of twenty and sixty-five registered as 'professional' housewives; taken as a group of potential workers they can add 39% to the formally registered economically active population. In addition, beyond agriculture and some household textile production there has been limited employment opportunities open for them, and the recent arrival of the garment industry into the county has been partly predicate upon their availability. Of the females registered as economically active, 68% were engaged in agriculture compared to 56% for males.

4. Local Enterprises: Structural Features and Patterns of Growth

Local enterprises in Peonia constitute an important sector in the county's economy and in 1990 provided employment for 2,374 inhabitants — some 28.5% of the economically active population who were registered, in 747 units.⁴ Aside from agriculture (and of course the possibility of out-migration) there are very few alternative avenues of employment available. There are scarcely any viable mineral deposits, and the prospect of generating a large trade in tourism is remote because of the absence of any beaches and obvious sights (Department of Regional Development of Central and Western Macedonia, 1977). To date, no medium or large scale firm has chosen to locate in the county — although the

4. Data collected from the Secretaries of the municipalities and communities.

former category seems to have been important in several cases of rural industrialisation in Southern Europe. This places the onus of employment creation squarely upon the local enterprises.

In fact, we can distinguish between two types of local enterprise, the household and the small-scale. The first employ up to five workers per enterprise and are chiefly characterised by extensive participation of family labour. The capital investment is largely confined to the purchase of equipment, such as sewing machines, bench lathes, embroidery machines, oxyacetylene welders and large numbers of simple hand tools. There are important features in common between these enterprises and the small, family-run, agricultural holding. In the former the amount of capital investment is relatively small, while in the latter the extent of mechanisation is relatively low, and in both the owner of the means of production, the entrepreneur and the actual workers combine in one unit. In the summer of 1990, there were 685 household enterprises employing 1,312 persons, some 55% of the aggregate employment in the local enterprise sector (see Table 2). The garment industry was by far the single most important activity and accounted for 31% of total employment in household enterprises. The rest of the secondary sector constituted some 20% of the employment in household enterprises, while the tertiary sector contributed the remaining 49%. The small-scale enterprises employ between five and fifty workers, most of whom are wage labourers, and they undertake relatively heavy investment in plant machinery and buildings. In 1990, the sixty-two small-scale enterprises provided employment for 1,062 persons, some 45% of the total in local enterprises (see Table 3). The nineteen small-scale enterprises producing garments, some of whom acted as primary contractors, accounted for 38% of employment in this kind of enterprise, while other secondary activities constituted 57% and the tertiary sector comprised only 5%.

A large majority of both household and small-scale enterprises were established as local initiatives or through the entrepreneurship of return migrants. Relocations and other non-local initiatives were only of some significance in the small-scale enterprise segment, as twenty-three enterprises (a mere 3% of the total) employ-

ing 417 persons (including 227 seasonal workers) or some 17.6% of labour engaged in all local enterprises, arose from this means. Placing this information in the context of the existing classification scheme which appears in the literature on Southern Europe, we find that 'dependent' firms constitute 55% of the total enterprises in the secondary sector and 51% of the employment provided; 'independent' enterprises account for 10% and 33% respectively; while artisanal firms comprise the remaining 35% and 16%.

A further method of classification is activity based. From Table 4 we can see that the garment industry is by far the single most important activity contributing 34% of the aggregate employment in local enterprises. These concentrate upon a limited product range, consisting largely of T-shirts, underwear, blouses and skirts (SIC no's 6105-9, 6205-8). Actually Peonia, together with the adjacent small town of Polikastro (see Map), constitute a region of high concentration of garment enterprises. In addition to garments, the other important activities in Peonia are the tobacco and textile industries (especially curtain and lace making) accounting for 13% and 8% of total employment respectively, and consist almost exclusively of small-scale enterprises. In contrast, entertainment, construction, joinery and cabinet-making are largely household enterprises. These activities, whether conducted in household or small-scale enterprises, are all labour-intensive.

The significance of manufacturing — comprising garments, tobacco processing, textiles, joinery and cabinet making, and other miscellaneous activities evident from Table 4 — needs some explanation. It consists of 193 household and forty-six small-scale enterprises, and employs 1,595 people (or 19.1% of the economically active population), a marginally higher share than the average for Greece as a whole — 18.3% as of 1989 (OECD, 1989). The extent of manufacturing suggests that a considerable growth in employment must have occurred in recent years, and evidence from ESYE reveals that between 1958 and 1990 the number of employees increased from 696 to 1,595, some 168%. This growth was due primarily to the rise of the garment industry, from 153 to 804 working persons, which alone accounted for two-thirds of the absolute rise. The agricultural processing industry

also increased its employment, from 104 to 369, and improved upon its share of manufacturing.

This growth in employment, however, was by no means continuous; the year 1978 appears to be a decisive turning point. We may see from Table 5 that between 1958 and 1978 there was a 15% decline in the absolute numbers of those working in manufacturing; yet because of the fall in the population of the county, the number of persons in manufacturing per-100 inhabitants remained almost stationary. In the garment industry, the decline occurred both in absolute (by 46%) and relative terms (by 33%). In marked contrast, after 1978 there was a significant increase in the number of people involved with manufacturing by as much as 217%; this was driven by the spectacular growth of the garment industry (+868%). Since the total population remained unchanged (it declined by 2.5%), on the measure of workers per-100 inhabitants there was also a substantial growth. We need to qualify these findings by taking into account the existence of the so-called 'parallel' economy. Non-registration is common for household and also small-scale enterprises. In 1990, for example, of the one hundred and twenty-eight enterprises operating in the garment industry and recorded in the interviews with the Secretaries of the municipalities and communities, only one hundred and one were officially registered with the local tax office.⁵ It is likely that the figures for 1973, 1978 and 1984 are serious underestimates of the numbers of firms operating in Peonia. However, the difference in the growth of manufacturing employment between the two sub-periods is far too large to be attributable to the expansion of unregistered activities alone.

Despite the fact that an impressive rate of industrial growth has taken place since 1978 it is clear that there was an unequal dispersion of household and small-scale enterprises over space (see Table 6). In mountainous and semi-mountainous communities there are only household enterprises. A comparison of the contribution of these communities with respect to their land size, population and employment with that of the county underlines their marginal

5. Information provided by the Taxation Office of Goumenissa.

status. In the more prosperous agricultural communities the local enterprise sector — and especially small-scale enterprise — is of minor importance. Together the seven communities concerned occupy 18.7% of the total area, have 28.2% of the population, but only account for 14.5% of the employment in the sector. This is the result of an agricultural-based path of economic growth. However, the remaining category — two municipalities and three communities which together have 61.25% of the total population — accounts for almost 83% of the employment in local enterprises and 86% of the employment in the garment industry. Amongst the communities and municipalities of Peonia, the village of Evropos seems to be the one which most closely resembles the average pattern of the county as a whole. It has 11.7% of the population, 9.1% of employment in local enterprises, 7.6% of employment in the garment industry, and almost an identical proportion of the economically active population engaged in the sector. This prompted us to choose this community as a focal point of our study since, as we shall see, it neatly exemplifies the process of rural industrial growth.

5. Market Opportunities and Local Response

5.1 Product demand

In Peonia county the rapid growth of rural industrial enterprises from the late 1970s was associated with the appearance of new market opportunities, especially for garments. Between 1978 and 1990 there was a net increase of 100 in the number of new firms engaged in garment manufacturing; and employment rose from just over eighty-three to over eight hundred persons (Table 5). Both the small-scale and household enterprises directed a high proportion of their output to overseas markets — with the FRG accounting for the lion's share.⁶ In fact, garment manufacturing in the county came to be closely associated with the German market.

During the latter part of the 1960s and early 1970s the garment

6. Data collected from the Chambers of Commerce and Small-scale Industry of the prefecture of Kilikis.

producing industry of the Federal Republic was undergoing major structural re-organisation. Rising unit costs, especially labour costs, were proving difficult to contain, either in terms of resisting organised union claims or through productivity gains. Imports began to accelerate. At the lower echelons of the market imports from low wage economies, especially in the Far East, increased while there was also a growth of imports of higher value added products from other EC countries (Eurostat, 1981-1990). The level of employment in the industry within Germany declined precipitately — it fell by over half (58%) between 1972 and 1989 (Eurostat, 1972-89) and output fell by a third between 1970 and 1987 (IFO and Promateia, 1989).

However, the position of the larger firms (i.e., hiring more than 500 workers) was not unduly weakened by the overall decline in output and the degree of import penetration. In fact, their combined share of employment declined by only 0.4% between 1972 and 1987 (IFO and Promateia, 1989), while their sales relative to the industry as a whole rose by 11% (Bande, 1986). The reason for this robust performance was their resort to sub-contracting, a phenomenon which was becoming increasingly international in scope (Holmes, 1986). In the mid-1970s the share of sub-contracting arrangements amounted to 14% of all garment imports (Frobel et al, 1981) and this increased to approximately 20% in the early 1980s (IFO and Promateia, 1989).

The implementation of a common textile and clothing policy with respect to tariff and other non-tariff barriers to entry between the member states of Europe enabled trade to flow more freely, and so gave a comparative advantage to the lower cost producers (Cecchini, 1988; Commission of the European Communities, 1989). However, it was the functioning of the Multi-Fibre Agreement (MFA) which was the most decisive influence upon the actual destination of sub-contracting. Its aim was to ensure the 'orderly' development of the trade and avoid 'disruptive' effects upon individual products. Within this context, bilateral agreements — the Voluntary Export Restrictions — were the principal means of regulating the trade, while the importing countries were required to pursue policies to encourage structural

adjustment. However, under the MFAs, Greece was given more advantageous treatment than the NICs or the LDCs (Evmiridis, 1990). This is because Greece was already an associate member of the EC and, until 1991, it was offered one of the highest annual increases on its quota. When Greece became a full member it benefited from the immediate abolition of all export quotas. Thus, during the 1980s, Greek garment manufacturers gained market share at the expense of lower wage countries such as South Korea and Egypt — whose level of labour costs in the summer of 1990 was estimated to be only 38% and 13% respectively of that of Greece (Werner International, 1990).

Using ESYE sources we may chart the changing performance of the Greek garment industry. Following on from the decade of decline extending from the late 1950s and corresponding to the period of productive decentralisation emanating from Germany, there was a rapid growth in both employment and total production value. Between 1969-1988 the number employed rose from 39,144 to 93,908 and the value of total production in constant 1970 prices rose by 86.8% (EYSE, 1969, 1973, 1978, 1984, 1992, and Evmiridis, 1990).⁷ Exports grew dramatically. As a share of total production they rose from 0.5% in 1960 to 71% in 1981 and 93% in 1987 (Papayannakis and Lolos, 1989). The bulk were directed to the FRG which accounted for 60% in 1986 (Papadias, 1989). Recent research undertaken by Kalliantzidis (1988) reveals that the great majority of the Greek small and medium-sized enterprises involved in the export trade to Germany were located in the north. In the city of Thessaloniki alone nearly 1,000 manufacturing firms act as secondary sub-contractors and several hundred export directly. The lion's share of this export trade is handled by some thirty agency houses. Some are owned by return migrants from the FRG where they formerly worked in garment enterprises. Their function is clearly of great importance for the domestic manufacturers since it is they who carry through the international diffusion of production to the city and further to areas such as Peonia.

7. The growth in the share of the parallel economy from approximately 23.6% in 1969 to 31.6% in 1988 suggests that these figures, especially gross production value, are underestimates.

The village of Evropos provides a striking illustration of the process arising from productive decentralisation. Most of the enterprises in the garment industry of the village emerged on the basis of sub-contracting, while in 1990 no less than thirteen (of the total of fourteen) household and small-scale enterprises continued to operate mainly through this arrangement, and eleven have exclusive sub-contracts. Furthermore, the greater part of their production went to Germany.

5.2 The Entrepreneurs

For the Greek agents to take advantage of the opportunities which arose as a result of the propensity of the large German firms to decentralise their garment production to the periphery, several important pre-conditions had to be in place. Perhaps the foremost was the existence of a potential pool of locally-based entrepreneurs — who could tap into existing rural resources and take advantage of Peonia's geographical position and favourable business environment.

On the basis of micro-level research which was undertaken in 1989-90 in Evropos village⁸, and supported by more recent field-

8. A stratified random sample of 100 households in Evropos (accounting for 20% of the total in the village) was divided into two groups and separate questionnaires were used for each. The first group (sixty-five households) included those primarily engaged in agriculture, thus reflecting the important contribution of the primary sector in the total employment provided in the community (64.3%). A further classification within this group on the basis of the size of agricultural holdings emerged from data kindly made available by the Secretary of the community. Thus, thirteen households cultivated land of up to 2.5 hectares each; thirty-eight households cultivated from 2.5 to five hectares; ten households cultivated five to ten hectares; and four households cultivated over ten hectares. The second group comprised thirty-five households engaged in household and small-scale enterprises and reflects the contribution of small-scale industry in the level of employment. A further classification within this group was undertaken from information provided by the Secretary of the community and is presented in the following table.

Activity	No. of household enterprises	No. of small-scale enterprises	Total
Garment industry	4	1	5
Blacksmiths	2	—	2
Joinery/Cabinet making	1	1	2

work conducted in 1991-92 in Filiria and Agios Petros,⁹ we have been able to identify a number of important features of the prevailing socio-economic structures which help to shape entrepreneurship. First of all, as a result of the long-standing commercialisation of agricultural production sound skills, including familiarity with market behaviour, close involvement with the banking system and the need to scrutinise carefully and evaluate the returns of any investment, were acquired. Secondly, the ownership of agricultural and residential property provided both collateral and a second string to the family bow should the new investment prove problematic. Thirdly, there is a tradition legitimising petty-commodity production; and this translates into considerable status being afforded to owners of household and small-scale enterprises. Fourthly, the family orientation gives a sense of cohesion to the enterprises and promotes a degree of social integration amongst the small rural community; furthermore, ties of kin and friendship reduce risk in an uncertain trade and transactions environment. Finally, a number of forces at work within the locality were pushing households away from more traditional pursuits as a result of rapidly changing tastes due to the greater availability of mass-produced items, and the introduction of new techniques of production. In addition, there is evidence suggesting that it was the smallest and poorest agricultural households who tended to search

Various manufacturing	1	1	2
Construction industry	1	—	1
Entertainment industry	5	—	5
Groceries	2	—	2
Repair shops	3	—	3
Other tertiary	13	—	13
Total	32	3	35

9. A control-group form of survey was conducted in a community where the contribution of local enterprises to total employment was well below the county's average, Filiria, and in another with a higher than average contribution, Agios Petros. In the former the randomly selected sample consisted of twenty-five households divided into two main groups: farmers (18) and entrepreneurs (7), who were further divided into garment entrepreneurs and others (3). The sample in Agios Petros consisted of thirty-five households, including 20 farmers and 15 entrepreneurs (nine in garments and six in others).

for alternative sources of employment and income generation. Thus, among proprietors of household and small-scale enterprises some 88% owned less than 2.7 hectares of land each at the time of establishment of their enterprise, while the corresponding figure for those engaged primarily in agriculture was only 25%. At the county level this is paralleled by the relatively low returns to agriculture in the least well-endowed villages and area surrounding the two municipalities (see Group B, Table 1); it was those places which displayed the most noticeable propensity to diversify away from agriculture and engage in rural non-farm activities (see Group B, Table 6).

These local push-pressures led to a wave of out-migration. This was directed in the first instance to areas outside the country, particularly Germany and Belgium and later to Thessaloniki. The migrants from Evropos who settled in Thessaloniki were relatively better educated individuals compared to the farmers who remained behind in the rural areas. They were all literate and most (40%) were high school graduates. As a result, the majority of the migrants to the city were not employed as manual workers; rather they found employment in a variety of fields which would prove useful for their future career as entrepreneurs. Thus, many worked in the garment industry; the remainder found jobs in garages, TV repair shops and in the retail trade in general. Furthermore, this migration was typically for a period of approximately six years (the range extended between two and ten years), in contrast with the earlier stream of migrants, who went to Western Europe and settled for far longer. From this internal migratory movement the potential entrepreneurs gained valuable skills and established important contacts which proved vital in establishing their rural businesses. They were also able to accumulate savings which they later invested in their own enterprises.

In the second half of the 1970s the Thessaloniki-based migrants experienced a change in their economic circumstances. The urban enterprises operating in the garment industry began to see the advantages of either re-locating to small towns (such as IOTEX Ltd. which went to Polikastro, and Alice which went to Axioupoli) or establishing a supply of sub-contracting networks in the surround-

ding rural areas.¹⁰ Several of the largest garment firms (such as Rainer, Houss-Blant, Hellas-Style, Sarafidis and Demetriades-Ioannides) ceased to manufacture in their own premises and came to act as primary contractors.¹¹ This outward shift from the city provided the migrants with an opportunity for setting-up in their own right in their own community. What tended to happen was that migrants linked their household or small-scale units to either their former employers or to one of the agents. The development of the garment industry in turn began to revive the fortune of the rural community in general and, in combination with the stimulus provided by accession to the EC, led to an expansion of incomes and expenditure. Through local multiplier effects this encouraged other migrants to return and establish tertiary businesses such as garages, repair shops, cafeterias, discos and supermarkets. These enterprises were orientated towards servicing the local markets as opposed to the garment producers whose output was primarily destined for export. The fieldwork research revealed that the overwhelming majority of the new entrepreneurs were from the ranks of the return migrants.

Although not prominent as entrepreneurs, only nine out of one hundred enterprises were owned and run by women. Nevertheless they play a key role as workers within the household (mainly unwaged) and in the small-scale enterprises (largely as wage labour). They are at the centre of the family-dominated mode of production. The intra-family division of labour takes the form of women and children performing most of the tasks of production, especially sewing, putting in very long hours of work. The male members of the household tend to engage in the organisation of the enterprise as a whole, and deal with outsiders — the agents, the primary contractors, the banks and the other official bodies such as the tax and insurance offices. This commonplace — but important — factor underscores the quintessentially domestic nature of the milieu in question.

10. Information from interviews with the owners of IOTEX Ltd. and Alice, June 1991.

11. Information supplied by the Union of Workers in the Garment Industry of Northern Greece in their 'Report of action for 1984'.

6. The Enterprise Strategy

The basic enterprise strategy of household and small-scale enterprises centres upon their intensive use of labour. Given the lack of alternative sources of local employment in Evropos, as in Peonia as a whole, the agricultural sector has provided all the necessary supply of workers to local enterprises. The actual supply is governed by the interaction of a number of local factors. The relatively low level of incomes deriving from agriculture constrains the purchasing power of the family. In addition, for four-fifths of the calendar year there is little work to be done on the holdings. In fact, on-farm activity contains a substantial amount of seasonality. In the late 1970s official estimates confirmed that the period from October to April was very slack (Department of Regional Development of Central and Western Macedonia, 1977). On the other hand, new patterns of consumption were emerging as a result of the influence of the media: and new tastes were forming even in quite isolated rural areas of Greece (Unesco, 1972). The desire to 'catch up' with the Western European countries became implanted (Mouzelis, 1978), and this manifested itself in the demand for new services such as supermarkets, bars, discos, and repair shops for cars, televisions and other consumer durables. This encouraged a segment of the population not normally considered economically active — particularly the females, to seek industrial work.

Thus the entrepreneurs have been able to keep labour costs down. This has enabled them to meet the requirements of their buyers and still remain internationally competitive. The fact that the employees of household and small-scale enterprises are typically members of a wider, family unit of production has significant implications for levels of remuneration, as it enables them to moderate their claim on sales revenue. Housing and certain items of foodstuffs are provided by the family and there are few — if any — commuting costs. In periods of slack trade or even unemployment, it is the family who bears the cost of maintaining the labour-force and also provides pension cover and medical

support through the agricultural holding.¹² Within this context, the household enterprises possess and utilise the ability to reduce their unit labour costs below even the minimum wage assigned by legislation, in a mode akin to labour deployment under the peasant economy model (Taussig, 1982); while, for their part, small scale enterprises tend to stick close to this minimum — but they effect savings by evading the legal enactments relating to skill levels, marital status and allowance for years of previous experience. Evidence from the garment industry in the county suggests that in 1992 employees in household enterprises received wages about 17% below the legal rate, while in small-scale enterprises this difference was around 8%.¹³ This also explains the tendency to rely upon groups with limited employment options, especially women, children and teenagers. Females account for over 80% of the labour-force in the garment and tobacco industries, and children and teenagers are employed largely as assistants to artisans and also in tertiary household enterprises such as cafeterias and restaurants.

Another component of labour costs is insurance which involves contributions from both employers and employees. Recently this has been estimated to constitute no less than 44% of the total

12. This subsidy to the 'modern' from the 'traditional' sector has an interesting parallel in Africa and indeed the Third World as a whole. For details see Meillassoux (1972).

13. A stratified random sample of 25 wage workers in garment enterprises of Peonia was used between November 1991 and February 1992. The sample was divided on the basis of the size of the enterprise (household and small-scale), the spatial distribution of employment within the county and the different contribution of sexes in employment in the industry, and is presented in the following table.

	Axioupoli	Agios Petros	Goumenissa
Small-scale Males	1	0	1
Females	6	3	2
Household Males	0	1	0
Females	1	3	1
	Evropos	Gorgopi	Filiria
Small-scale Males	0	0	0
Females	1	2	■
Household Males	0	0	■
Females	2	1	1

cost of wage labour in the Greek garment industry (Werner International, 1990). Given the high potential burden that this imposes, evading this impost provides a significant advantage for those household enterprises who are determined to avoid it altogether. Evasion is also fairly common in small-scale enterprises, but is not so widespread. Thus, we found that of one hundred and seventy-one persons working in household enterprises in Evropos in 1990, only thirty-six (or 21%) were insured as both owners (six) and employees (the thirty remaining). Small-scale enterprises insured thirty-six of their fifty-eight employees, or 62%.¹⁴ Furthermore, household and especially small-scale enterprises benefited from a subsidy for employees whom they insure with the Greek government and the EC. This subsidy represents between 60-66% of the total cost of insurance and is provided for a period of twelve to eighteen months.¹⁵ However, according to our survey, a significant number of enterprises in Evropos found a convenient way of extending this period by formally firing workers, while they in fact continued to work; then, after three months had elapsed, they formally re-hired them.

These are not the only means of reducing labour costs, and household enterprises especially can achieve this goal through an increase in labour input per worker. This may fairly be regarded as 'self-exploitation' as far as the family labour force is concerned. Indeed, in 1990 only five of the thirty-five enterprises surveyed in Evropos were operating forty hours per week — the working hours laid down by legislation in Greece — while eleven have extended their hours of work to more than seventy per week. We can also see that the longest working hours found in the village were no less than ninety-eight per week which translates into fourteen hours per day for seven days per week.

The modest returns from agriculture and the lack of an alternative use of land have significant implications for the rental pay-

14. Primary MSS data obtained from the Social Insurance Organisation (IKA) Offices of Axioupoli and Goumenissa.

15. Information obtained from the Greek Employment Organisation (OAED) in July 1990.

ment of the premises of local enterprises. Actually, in Evropos, several households (twelve in all) and a single small-scale enterprise operate from rented premises. The rental payment is useful as a means of estimating the opportunity cost of land. In order to have a better idea of the burden of rent as an element of cost, we divided the village into two zones. The first comprises its centre and the second covers the more distant locations. In the former, in 1990, the rent fluctuated around 350-450 drachmas per square metre, while in the latter the range was between 100-150 drachmas. These figures are very low compared with those of Thessaloniki, particularly its central areas — where the rent in the same year amounted to between 3,500-4,200 drachmas per square metre: while in the neighbourhoods (synikies) the rent for garment enterprises was 1,750-2,200 drachmas.¹⁶

Another element of the enterprise strategy is the participation in the parallel economy. However, any attempt to determine its size encounters a number of particular difficulties because the form which it takes in Evropos is hard to tie down. Failure to register with the local taxation office is common practice, while even those household and small-scale enterprises that do comply appear to declare only a part of their turnover. Small-scale enterprises participate more in the parallel economy than household enterprises (twenty out of thirty-two in our sample) since they employ experienced full or part-time accountants who can manipulate their returns. Besides those enterprises who evade taxation, a number of others achieve a similar outcome through legal means. For example, a small-scale enterprise can figuratively split into two smaller units with the same owner in order to avoid going higher up on the tax scale as a result of greater earnings. A household enterprise can be owned by a person who defines himself as engaged primarily in agriculture as such persons are not legally bound to declare their incomes. In addition, certain aspects of the regional development policy contribute to a reduction of taxation payment. The regional development policy,

16. Information provided by the long-established Christoforides estate agency, Fleming, 57, Thessaloniki.

although established in 1949, was intensified in 1978, and aimed at the relocation of the industry away from the major urban centres. When industrial growth got underway in Evropos, the village was defined as a 'non-industrial' area (as was Peonia as a whole), and this meant that a generous package of taxation and financial incentives was allowed. In 1982, there was a change in regional development policy inaugurated by the PASOK government, and the county was divided into two zones. The areas within twenty kilometres of the national frontier were defined as the 'underdeveloped frontier', and in addition to the existing tax and other financial incentives offered, they were able to obtain grants ranging from 20% to 50% of the cost of project investments. In the rest of the county, including Evropos, investment allocation ranged from 15% to 40% of project costs (Carter, 1987). Established household and small-scale enterprises benefited from these loans, as the ownership of an agricultural plot and (or) residential property permitted access to these credit facilities. However, it was small-scale enterprises who largely benefited from the tax incentives of the regional development policy, as they possessed the requisite information, and had the ability to deal with the quite daunting amount of red tape which was involved.¹⁷

7. Conclusion

The recent experience of rural industrial growth which occurred after 1978 in Peonia county presents a number of contrasts and similarities with that of other peripheral regions elsewhere in Southern Europe. The rapidity of growth and the structural change which it brought in its wake are certainly comparable to what several case studies have reported has happened in Iberia. As far as the causation is concerned, we have argued that industrial re-organisation in metropolitan districts led to a diffusion of production to the countryside and small towns, and this provided a stimulus for the establishment of new firms and the re-orientation

17. Evidence obtained directly from the enterprises in the survey.

of existing enterprises. Such a diffusion was first identified in the Third Italy and then to a lesser — but nonetheless important — extent in Spain and Portugal, and forms the basis of the *Fabrica Diffusa* school of thought. However, whereas in those instances the initiative came primarily from large companies based in urban metropolises within the countries themselves (the Genoa-Milan-Turin triangle, Madrid and Barcelona, Lisbon and Oporto); in the Greek case this was originated by big garment manufacturers located in a core EC country — the FRG. This opportunity for manufacturing via a mesh of sub-contracting arrangements filtering into rural localities was not randomly distributed through space. Indeed, we have argued that a cluster of local factors provided an appropriate environment for inducing entrepreneurial activity and inward investment. Some of these factors were specific to the county, such as its favourable geographical position, its long manufacturing tradition, the availability of good quality cotton, and the close links with the city of Thessaloniki; while other considerations were common to rural Greece as a whole including the small owner-occupier agrarian structure, the relatively low rates of return to agriculture, the key role played by the family as a unit of enterprise and production, the existence of a reservoir of female workers and, finally but not least, the influence of the regional development policy. Elsewhere in Southern Europe such types of local influence have also been considered as instrumental in establishing small-scale rural industry — though naturally this varies from place to place and indeed with respect to the Third Italy, Fua (1983, 1986) has suggested that local factors are of overriding significance. Peonia then illustrates an articulation of exogenous (foreign) and endogenous (local) variables which prompted the spurt in rural industrial activity. This line of explanation seems more satisfactory than the arguments usually put forward in the literature, especially relating to the Third Italy, that polarise around mono-casual themes. It is our view that in Peonia, at least, such categories are not mutually exclusive.

The process of rural industrial growth also does not fit snugly into the framework provided by the competing schools of thought which we outlined in Section II. Unlike the experience of these

regions of Southern Europe where strong forward and backward linkages between agriculture and industry are thought of as being at the heart of this pattern of growth, in the case of Peonia the agricultural sector acts as a source of indirect subsidy to both household and small-scale enterprises — suggesting an intriguing analogy with the peasant economy model.

The small family-run farm has been an important contributory factory behind the emergence of entrepreneurship — a phenomenon found too in the Third Italy (Fua 1986, Brusco, 1986). Return migrants have also played a pivotal role in the establishment of locally-based enterprises in Peonia — as indeed they have done in many parts of Spain and Portugal. Many of those who became agents spent some period of their working lives overseas, and the overwhelming majority of local entrepreneurs have received work experience in nearby Thessaloniki. The entrepreneurs were unable to engage in any meaningful form of inter-enterprise co-operation — a common experience throughout Southern Europe, but which is obviously in marked contrast to the celebrated case of the Third Italy. With regard to the labour process, we have shown that there was widespread resort to the intensive use of female workers, often of the same family or kin as the owner, usually based in the household itself, and putting in very long hours. Of course all of this was designed specifically to keep down the level of costs, and it is hardly surprising that such a business strategy was widely adopted all over Southern Europe — a point emphasised repeatedly by the *Fabrica Diffusa* school.

For writers in this tradition such as Garofoli and Sforzi, who wholeheartedly endorse the favourable development properties of the Third Italy model, the idea of an industrial district enjoying scale economies through technological specialisation is of major importance. However, despite there being a clustering of garment enterprises located in a tightly demarcated area of Peonia, there is little which is even proximate to the accepted notion of an industrial district. We found that new technologies are hardly applied in the production process of all of the secondary activities present in the county, even though there was considerable State support — both direct and indirect — for small industrial units.

Taken together, these considerations suggest that there is a greater incidence of 'dependent' enterprises in Peonia than elsewhere in Southern Europe.

Placing Peonia in this context, any forecast of the future of household and small-scale enterprises is more than usually problematic concerning the development path taken by the other exemplifiers of rural industrialisation, including that of the Third Italy. The abolition, by 2004, of the MFA — a regime which enabled local enterprises to benefit from trade diversion, adds to the difficulty of speculation about the viability of this pattern of growth. This change would almost certainly mean a shift in imports of mass-produced items destined for core countries such as Germany, currently originating from intermediate countries including Portugal and Greece (with obvious implications for Peonia), to lower-cost producers including China, Hong-Kong, and Turkey. Beyond this, the rapid changes which have taken place in the former Socialist Bloc in Eastern Europe offer a further source of threat to small-scale industrial units in Greece. Situated close to the major EC markets, having a significantly lower level of wage costs comparable to that prevailing in LDCs, and hungry for investment, they offer — potentially at least — very inviting sites for European manufacturers seeking more competitive sources of supply (Commerzbank, 1992); indeed, there is evidence that several Greek enterprises have already diffused parts of their production to other areas in the Southern Balkans, including districts around Skopje, and in Bulgaria and Albania.¹⁸ Set against this, the long-term gains deriving from the completion of the single market for the EC in January 1993 (Cecchini, 1988) and the implementation of a programme — RETEX — designed to modernise the plant and equipment of textile and garment firms in Iberia and Greece (Moshonas, 1991) are likely to be modest.

18. This evidence comes from the newspaper *Vima*, and was confirmed by the Director of the Garment Manufacturers of Thessaloniki. In our fieldwork we have identified at least one enterprise — IOTEX Ltd., which has established sub-contracting arrangements with seven firms in the Skopje area and one located just south of Sofia. It is worth noting that as from late 1991 Greece has extended her regional development policy to southern Albania — a region containing a large ethnic Greek minority.

The viability of local enterprises, especially those involved with garment manufacture, will depend upon their ability to adjust to new competitive pressures. We have seen how both the household and small-scale units grew by offering the agents and primary contractors — and ultimately their customers overseas — a range of products on attractive terms. They were able to supply appropriate quantities and qualities as a result of their fluid working arrangements: indeed the entire system of production and distribution had to be highly flexible in order to satisfy the dictates of market forces confronting the large German firms. This is not to say however that Peonia fits into the celebrated pattern of Flexible Specialisation, particularly as outlined by Piore and Sabel. Local enterprises did not use the programmable technology of the CAM/CAD type — rather their equipment was confined to a combination of basic machinery and hand tools. They did not produce specialised goods for niche markets — in fact they concentrated on items of mass consumption; and they certainly did not engage in any co-operation, formal or otherwise: on the contrary, they were forced to compete with each other on a cut-throat basis so as to secure orders from agents and primary contractors. The Peonia case then supplements the recent critique of the concept of 'flexibility' (Hyman, 1991), and suggests that it needs to be qualified further if it is to encapsulate the diverse experience of rural industrialisation in Southern Europe. In fact the cost-paring and cost-evading regime which, we have argued, lies at the heart of Peonia's pattern of growth, presents greater similarity with the flexibility inherent in the notion of an 'informal' or even 'underground' economy than with any brave new post-Fordist prototype.

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**Table 1. The municipalities and communities of Peonia:
Land, population and agriculture as of 1990.**

	Area (hec)	Population	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.
A.							
Toumpa	1,360	782	4	0.8	37	7	96.4
Filiria*	1,968	654	8.2	—	30	7	95
Polipetro	1,115	538	6.4	0.2	17	4	90
Rizia*	2,188	1,276	3.6	—	100	—	93
Mesia	868	367	6.2	—	48	2	90
Plagia	1,360	327	6.8	—	19	—	68
Gorgopi*	2,475	1,649	3.4	0.2	27	2	75
<i>Average</i>	1,417	799	5.6	0.2	40	3	86.7
B.							
Goumenissa[1]*	7,130	4,348	4.8	—	12	1.5	11.5
Axioupoli[1]*	7,040	2,780	2.8	—	70	0.1	10.9
Agios Petros	2,150	1,915	4.8	—	58	1	72.7
Evropos	2,590	2,317	5	—	27	1	70
Griva	2,140	779	1	—	12	1.5	62.5
Idomeni*	2,694	531	4	—	15	—	79
<i>Average</i>	3,957	2,111	3.8	—	32.3	0.8	51
C.							
Karpi[2]	5,840	391	2	—	23.6	1.5	90
Kastaneri[2]	2,948	344	5.6	—	1.5	—	8.3
Skra[2]*	9,520	351	11.6	—	10	—	16
Fanos[3]	3,960	215	7.2	—	—	—	21
Livadia[2][4]	3,200	256	17	—	24.8	—	83
<i>Average</i>	5,094	311	7.1	—	12	0.3	43.66

1. Average size of holding (in hectares).
2. Tobacco cultivation (Virginia variety) per holding (hectares).
3. Irrigated land as % of cultivated land (in hectares).
4. Loan under Reg. 797/85 (per 100 households).
5. Households primarily engaged in agriculture as % of total.
- A. Prosperous communities.
- B. Others.
- C. Mountainous and semi-mountainous communities.
- * Administrative units with more than one settlement (oikismos).
- [1] Municipalities.
- [2] Mountainous terrain.
- [3] Semi-mountainous terrain.
- [4] Inhabitable only for five months of the year.

Source: EYSE, Population census 1991, and Department of Agriculture, Prefecture of Kilikis.

Table 2. The household enterprises of Peonia, 1990.

	Garment industry		Other Secondary [1]		Tertiary [2]	
	1.	2.	1.	2.	1.	2.
Toumpa	—	—	4	7	16	21
Filiria	5	19	2	6	12	16
Polipetro	1	3	—	3	9	15
Rizia	2	6	4	12	25	29
Mesia	2	—	1	6	8	9
Plagia	—	—	—	2	4	4
Gorgopi	10	38	8	19	24	29
Goumenissa	25	89	17	61	126	173
Axioupoli	13	49	12	52	112	156
Agios Petros	34	129	7	19	41	56
Evropos	13	47	14	38	73	86
Griva	3	13	7	21	12	12
Idomeni	—	—	4	10	11	12
Karpi	—	—	—	3	9	15
Kastaneri	—	—	1	1	5	5
Skra	—	—	—	—	9	5
Fanos	1	3	—	5	3	3
Livadia	—	—	—	—	1	1
TOTAL	109	404	83	270	492	638

Total number of enterprises: 684.

Total number of working people: 1,312.

Notes

1. Number of enterprises.
2. Number of working people.
- [1] Including blacksmiths, carpenters and cabinet makers, individual workers in the construction industry and other minor activities.
- [2] Including grocers, garages and repair shops, cafeterias, tavernas, discos, bars and other minor activities.

Source: Data collected from the Secretaries of the municipalities and communities of Peonia.

Table 3. Small-scale industry in Peonia [1], 1990.

	Garment industry		Other Secondary [2]		Tertiary [3]	
	1.	2.	1.	2.	1.	2.
Toumpa	—	—	1	12	—	—
Goumenissa	3	44	2	32	10	40
Axioupoli	7	166	19	493	5	10
Agios Petros	6	140	1	8	—	—
Evropos	1	14	3	44	—	—
Gorgopi	2	36	2	23	—	—
TOTAL	19	400	28	612	15	50

Total number of enterprises: 62.

Total number of working people: 1,062.

Notes

1. Number of enterprises.

2. Number of working people.

[1] No small-scale enterprises exist in the communities of Filiria, Polipetro, Rizia, Mesia, Plagia, Griva, Idomeni and the marginalised communities Skra, Fanos and Livadia.

[2] Including 11 textile firms, 5 tobacco processing firms, 2 metallurgical firms and others.

[3] Including banks, representatives of insurance agencies and others.

[4] Including 227 seasonal employees.

Source: Data collected from the Secretaries of municipalities and communities and Department of Employment, Prefecture of Kilikis.

Table 4. Percentage number of persons working in household and small-scale enterprises in Peonia, 1990.

Industry	1.	2.	3.
Garment	31	38	34
Tobacco	—	28	13
Textile	0.7	17	8
Carpenters/cabinet-makers	6	0.9	4
Construction	7	—	4
Entertainment	14	—	8
Other Secondary	6	11	8
Other Tertiary	35	5	21
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0

Notes

1. Household enterprises.

2. Small-scale enterprises.

3. Average.

Source: Data collected from the Secretaries of municipalities and communities of Peonia.

Table 5. The growth in employment in manufacturing and garments in Peonia, 1958-1990 (number of working persons).

	1958	1973	1978	1984	1990	1.	2.
Population	24,800 [1]	20,898 [2]	20,392 [2]	20,079 [2]	19,857 [2]	-18	-2.5
Number of working persons in manufacturing	595	550	508	976	1,595	-14	217
Working persons in manufacturing per 100 inhabitants	2.4	2.6	2.5	4.9	8	4	220
Garment industry	153	86	83	306	804	-45	868
Working people in Garments per 100 inhabitants	0.6	0.4	0.4	1.5	4	-33	900

Notes

1. % change 1958-78.

2. * change 1978-90.

[1] 1961 population census.

[2] Estimated population on the basis of the average annual rate of change between the 1971, 1981, 1991 population census.

Sources: ESYE, Population census 1961, 1971, 1981, 1991.

ESYE, Statistics of Industrial Activity, 1958, 1973, 1978, 1984 and Table 4.

Table 6. Intra-county distribution of household and small-scale enterprises, 1990 (%).

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.
A.							
Toumpa	2.25	3.95	2.13	2.67	2.36	—	16
Filiria	3.25	3.29	3.12	—	1.72	2.36	15
Polipetro	1.84	2.71	1.6	—	0.88	0.37	9
Rizia	3.61	6.44	3.58	2.26	2.99	0.75	11.8
Mesia	1.43	1.85	1.75	—	0.97	1.0	14
Plagia	2.24	1.65	0.86	—	0.25	—	4.5
Gorgopi	4.09	8.32	6.55	3.77	5.3	9.2	21
TOTAL	18.71	28.21	19.2	8.7	14.47	13.68	14.6
B.							
Goumenissa	11.78	21.94	24.54	24.8	24.73	16.54	30.4
Axioupoli	11.63	14.03	19.51	42.4	29.82	26.74	50
Agios Petros	3.55	9.66	15.74	13.6	14.66	33.46	47.6
Evropos	4.28	11.69	13.03	4.33	9.14	7.59	29
Griva	3.53	3.93	3.35	6.21	4.63	1.62	31.3
TOTAL	34.77	61.25	75.9	91.34	82.98	85.95	38.4
C.							
Karpi	9.65	1.97	1.07	—	0.63	—	7.5
Kastaneri	4.86	1.74	0.46	—	0.25	—	4
Skra	15.72	1.77	0.69	—	0.21	—	5
Fanos	6.54	1.09	0.84	—	0.46	0.37	13.2
Livadia	5.29	1.29	0.08	—	0.04	—	16.7
TOTAL	42.07	7.86	3.14	—	1.59	0.37	6.8
Idomeni*	4.45	2.68	1.68	—	0.93	—	8.8
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

1. Land as % of total area of Peonia.

2. Population as % of total population of Peonia.

3. Working persons in household enterprises as % of total for the county.

4. Working persons in small-scale enterprises as % of total for the county.

5. Working persons in household and small-scale enterprises as % of total for the county.

6. Working persons in garment industry as % of total for the county.

7. Working persons in household and small-scale enterprises as % of the total economically active population.

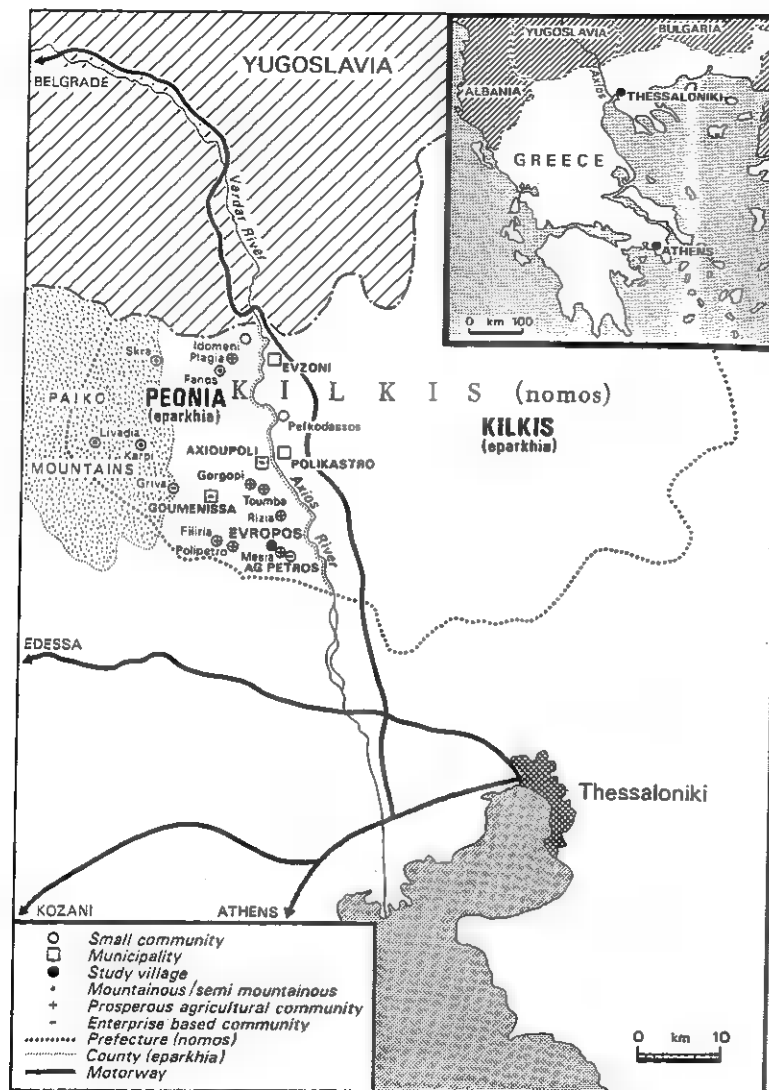
A. Prosperous agricultural communities.

B. Enterprise based communities.

C. Mountainous and semi-mountainous communities.

* This is a frontier railway community and over a fifth of the economically active population is directly employed by OSE (the Organisation of Greek Railways).

Source: refer to Tables 1, 2 and 3.



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*Denotes a publication in Greek

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SHORT NOTES

Petitions from Orthodox church officials to the Imperial Diwan, 1675

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Justice in an Islamic state was administered primarily by the *kadis* and their representatives, applying Islamic law, the *sharia*.¹ In most Islamic states, including the Ottoman empire, there existed a number of special jurisdictions besides that of the *kadis*. The most significant of these were the jurisdictions of the various non-Muslim groups under Islamic rule, the *dhimmis*, applying their own, Christian or Jewish, religious laws.² Apart from such jurisdictions limited to particular (religiously defined) groups, general jurisdictional powers lay in the hands of the Muslim head of state, such as the Sultan, who could delegate his jurisdictional powers to his representatives, the Grand Vizier or the *kaymakam*, his deputy in the capital. These wider jurisdictional powers of the rulers were formalized in the *mazalim* system,³ and under-

stood, in the Ottoman empire, to emanate from the concept of *siyasa*.⁴ The word '*mazalim*' is the plural form of '*mazlima*', meaning an injustice or wrongful act; '*siyasa*' is 'the extra-canonical authority of the ruler' which, in the course of its application, gave rise to *kanun*, the corpus of the written codified secular law in the Ottoman empire.⁵ The *mazalim* system, as well as the concept of *siyasa*, aimed at securing justice (*adl*) throughout a ruler's realm. This he tried to ensure by making himself accessible to his subjects so that they could appeal to him or his representatives against general injustices as well as those committed by government officials.

In the Ottoman empire, every subject, Muslim or non-Muslim, rich or poor, townsman or villager, had a right (at least in theory) to bring his (or her) case, however trivial, to the notice of the state authorities in the capital, by submitting a petition, or *arzuhal*.⁶ 'The most picturesque and dramatic form of such submission was to present a petition when the Sultan set out for the Friday prayer in one of the Imperial mosques or for a hunting expedition. (. . .) According to European sources, at the time of

1. The best general introduction, apart from the article 'Kādi' by E. Tyan and Gy. Kaldy-Nagy in *EP*, is still E. Tyan, *Histoire de l'organisation judiciaire en pays d'Islam* (Leiden 1960). For *kadis* in the Ottoman empire, their jurisdictional functions and organization see in particular U. Heyd, *Studies in Old Ottoman Criminal Law*, ed. V.L. Ménage (Oxford 1973); H.G. Majer, *Vorstudien zur Geschichte der Ilmiye im Osmanischen Reich. I: Zu Usakzade, seiner Familie und seinem Zeyl-i Şakayik* (München 1978); R.C. Jennings, 'Kadi, court, and legal procedure in 17th c. Ottoman Kayseri', *Studia Islamica* 48 (1978) 133-172. A recent detailed study of the Ottoman *kadi* in the Balkans (in Bulgarian) is R. Gradeva, *Kadijskata institucija na Balkanite XIV-XVII vek* (Diss., Sofija 1988). For Egypt see G.H. El-Nahal, *Judicial administration in Ottoman Egypt in the seventeenth century. A study based on the shari'a court registers* (Diss., Chicago 1978).

2. For non-Muslims in Islamic states see art. 'Dhimma' (C. Cahen) in *EP*; B. Ye'or, *The Dhimmi: Jews and Christians under Islam* (Cranbury, NJ 1985); B. Braude and B. Lewis (eds.), *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire. The Functioning of a Plural Society*, 2 vols (New York-London 1982).

3. Tyan, *op.cit.* 433-525. A detailed recent study of *mazalim* in Mamluk Egypt is J.S. Nielsen, *Secular Justice in an Islamic State: Mazalim under the Bahri Mamluks, 662/1264 — 789/1387* (Istanbul 1985).

4. Heyd, *op.cit.* 1f., 198-204, 215.

5. 'The main emphasis is placed on the protection of society, and not, as in the *shari'a*, on safeguarding the rights of the individual. The *kanun* is chiefly inspired not by principles of law and justice but, like the *siyasa*, by the need to improve the administration and to safeguard public order.' (Heyd, *op.cit.* 202). This Ottoman legislation of a comprehensive secular body of law is unprecedented in Islam. Individual law codes, including those arranged by provinces, are known as *kanunname*, cf. '*kanun-nāme*' (H. Inalcik) in *EP*; H.W. Lowry, 'The Ottoman Liva Kanunnames contained in the Defter-i hakani', *Osmanlı Araştırmaları* 2 (1981) 43-74. These, together with related *tapu tahrir defterleri* arranged by province, play a major role in modern historical research on the Ottoman empire. See C. Heywood, 'Between historical myth and 'mythohistory': the limits of Ottoman history', *BMGS* 12 (1988) 315-345.

6. For the ways in which Ottoman taxpayers brought their demands to the ears of the Sultan, and the reaction of the administration, see S. Faroqi, 'Political Activity Among Ottoman Taxpayers and the Problem of Sultanate Legitimation (1570-1650)', *JESHO* 35 (1992) 1-39. There is documentary evidence that provincial diwans received *arzuhal*s and kept records of the *buyuruldu* issued in dealing with them. The so-called *sicill* No. 64 of the series *Kadiski sidzili — Bitola* in the State Archive of Macedonia in Skopje is in fact a kind of provincial *şikayet defteri*, dating from the end of the 18th century. A study of this important document is in preparation.

such processions petitioners, standing in a line, held pieces of burning or smoking mat over their heads to draw attention to their miserable plight. The Sultan's followers collected the petitions, which might or might not be brought to his personal attention'.⁷ After the 15th century, in the majority of cases, it was the 'representative plenipotentiary' of the Sultan, i.e. the Grand Vizier, who would receive the petitions in the *divan-i hümayun*, or Imperial Diwan, where there existed a separate 'Chamber of Petitions' or *arz odası*. In the Turkish archives, substantial evidence from the proceedings in the *divan-i hümayun* has been preserved in the shape of 'Registers of Complaints' (*şikayet defterleri*), ranging, as far as is known, from 1059/1649 till 1229/1813. Each of these *şikayet defterleri* contains the summaries of hundreds if not thousands of decrees promulgated in response to complaints and petitions brought to the notice of the Imperial Diwan. Thanks to a recent international collaborative project, one such register of complaints, preserved in the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek in Vienna, has been published in full, and is therefore easily available for detailed analysis. This Vienna *defter* cod.mixt. 683 contains about 2,800 individual summaries of imperial decrees on more than 400 pages, covering almost exactly three quarters of the year 1675 (from 8-17 January till 21-30 September).⁸ A sample of cases of this size would appear to be sufficiently broad to exemplify the way in which *mazalim* justice was administered in the Ottoman state during most of a 'normal' year in the second half of the 11th/17th century.

A few words on statistics must suffice to provide a general impression of who benefitted from the institution of the *arz odası*: in the Vienna *defter*, the overwhelming majority of the petitions referred to were submitted, not surprisingly perhaps, by members

7. Heyd, *op.cit.* 227f.

8. H.G. Majer, *Das osmanische "Registerbuch der Beschwerden" (Şikayet Defteri) vom Jahre 1675*. Österreichische Nationalbibliothek Cod. mixt. 683. Herausgegeben, eingeleitet und mit siebzehn Fachkollegen gemeinsam übersetzt von Hans Georg Majer. Band I: Einleitung, Reproduktion des Textes, Geographische Indices (Wien 1984) 13-17.

of the Muslim community (more than 2,500 cases). Among these, most are 'private' male individuals for whom further specifications are generally lacking (840), followed by military personnel (416), the population of entire settlements (399), *kadis* (267), women (154), and other members of the *ilmiyye* or learned class (131), while artisans (67) and tribal chiefs (39) appear only in insignificant numbers.⁹

But there is evidence also of complaints raised by members of the various non-Muslim communities of the Ottoman empire, even by foreigners.¹⁰ As petitioners, non-Muslims appear in more than 230 cases, and the majority are referred to simply by their names and the term '*zimmi*' (the Turkish pronunciation of the Arabic '*dhimmi*') without further differentiation (111). Jews appear in 36 cases. As to those Christian petitioners whose social and institutional background can be easily established, functionaries of the Latin and Orthodox churches, as well as monks, form the majority, although their absolute numbers are comparably low: There are two cases where the petitioner is the Armenian patriarch of Constantinople. All other instances refer to petitions from Orthodox clerics — 9 from monks, 7 from metropolitan bishops, and 5 from an Ecumenical patriarch.¹¹

However restricted their numbers, these cases are nevertheless of some significance, since they can tell us about some of the grievances of the Great Church as voiced in front of the Ottoman central authorities — at a time for which we possess Western

9. Majer, *op.cit.* 23.

10. Non-Muslims figure regularly also in Ottoman *sharia* courts. R.C. Jennings, 'Zimmis (non-Muslims) in early 17th century Ottoman judicial records. The sharia court of Anatolian Kayseri', *JESHO* 21 (1978) 225-293. The position of non-Muslims vis-à-vis Muslim religious courts in the early 18th century has been studied by K. Çiçek, *Zimmis (non-Muslims) of Cyprus and the Sharia Law, 1110-39 H. / 1698-1726* (Diss., Birmingham 1992). Cf. R.C. Jennings, 'Limitations of the judicial powers of the kadi in 17th c. Ottoman Kayseri', *Studia Islamica* 50 (1979) 151-184.

11. Majer, *op.cit.* 23. My figures, based on a re-count, are not always identical with those given in the Introduction.

eyewitness accounts by such keen observers as Sir Paul Ricaut¹² and Thomas Smith.¹³ It is those petitions from certain functionaries of the Orthodox church which I would like to examine here.

Parthenios, in his capacity as *mütevelli* (administrator) of a Christian *vakf* (religious endowment)¹⁴ in the village of Çinar, Üsküdar district, submitted a petition by which he tried to fend off attempts by the *mütevelli* of the *vakf* of Fazlullah Pasha to have (part of) the Christian endowment declared a (Muslim-held) tax-farm (*mukataa*).¹⁵ Parthenios produced a *fetva*¹⁶ (legal

12. Sir Paul Ricaut (Rycaut) was British Consul in Smyrna from 1667 till 1679. His account of Ottoman government, administration, religious life and military institutions is a valuable contemporary description largely based on otherwise unknown sources. Sir P. Ricaut, *The history of the present state of the Ottoman empire. Containing the maxims of the Turkish polity, the most material points of the Mahometan religion, their sects and heresies, their convents and religious votaries. Their military discipline, with an exact computation of their forces both by sea and by land* (London 1686 [reprint Westmead 1972]). At the request of Charles II he devoted a separate volume to the situation of the Christian churches under Ottoman rule, *The Present State of the Greek and Armenian Churches. Anno Christi, 1678* (London 1680).

13. T. Smith, *De Graecae Ecclesiae hodierno statu epistola* (London 1676) (English version *An account of the Greek Church* [Oxford 1680]). Smith, a Fellow of Magdalen College, spent the years 1668-70 in Constantinople, before he wrote his 'frank but fairly sympathetic account of the Greek and Armenian churches': S. Runciman, *The Great Church in Captivity. A Study of the Patriarchate of Constantinople from the Eve of the Turkish Conquest to the Greek War of Independence* (Cambridge 1985²) 292f.

14. On religious endowments in the Ottoman empire see R.J. Barnes, *An Introduction into Religious Foundations in the Ottoman Empire* (Leiden 1986); B. Yediyildiz, *L'institution du waqf au XVIII^e siècle en Turquie* (Diss., Paris 1975); R.C. Jennings, 'Pious Foundations in the Society and Economy of Ottoman Trabzon, 1565-1640. A Study Based on the Judicial Registers (ser'i mahkeme sicilleri) of Trabzon', *JESHO* 33 (1990) 271-336; V. Mutaftchieva, *Le vakif — un aspect de la structure socio-économique de l'empire ottoman (XV^e-XVII^es.)* (Sofia 1981). The principles concerning the establishment of Christian 'vakfs' are given in A. Fattal, *Le statut légal des non-musulmans en pays d'Islam* (Beirut 1958) 143f.

15. The development of *mukataa* is discussed in H. Inalcik, 'Military and Fiscal Transformation in the Ottoman Empire, 1600-1700', H. Inalcik, *Studies in Ottoman Social and Economic History* (London 1985) chapter V (see especially 327-333).

16. H. Krüger, *Fetwa und Siyar. Zur internationalrechtlichen Gutachtenpraxis der osmanischen Şeyh ül-Islâm vom 17. bis 19. Jahrhundert unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des "Behcet ül-Fetâvâ"* (Wiesbaden 1978).

statement issued by a *müfti*¹⁷ and a *hüccet* (issued by a *kadi*) in support of his position, and asked for an imperial decree which would demand an investigation of the matter by a Muslim judge. Such a decree was issued (Vienna defter, fol. 37b entry 3).¹⁸ However, a few months later, Parthenios had to take active steps again in support of the Ecumenical patriarchs' rights with regard to this valuable source of income which, as is stated in the summary, date back to the year 996/1587-8. The Christian endowment in Çinar village, which consisted of numerous houses, an orchard and a number of walnut-trees, had again come under heavy attack, this time physical, by the *mütevelli* of the *vakf* of Fazlullah Pasha, who is reported to have taken the harvest from the orchard and, much worse, burnt down the houses. Parthenios, appearing in person before the Imperial Diwan, produced a *fetva* according to which he must be compensated for the damage. He asked for an imperial decree. A *hüküm* was issued which insists on an investigation by a Muslim judge (Vd 161b/2). How the story ended may be seen from the evidence in the following *defter* (which is *Başbakanlık Arşivi* No. 187 with entries from between 11-20 October 1675 and 14-23 May 1676).¹⁹

In the case of Kirilos, acting patriarch of Antiochia (Antakya), it is not clear from the text of the brief document dated first decade *Cumaziyülahir* 1086 (23 August-1 September 1675) why he submitted an *arzuhal*.²⁰ We only learn that the Orthodox priests (*papas*), monks (*keşiş*) and other members of the Orthodox communities in the area had (at last?) expressed their consent in accepting Kirilos as their patriarch. This being established, an order was to be issued by the Financial Department (*maliyye*) together with a copy of the *berat* confirming Kirilos in his present position as patriarch, warning that no one had a right to interfere

17. R.C. Repp, *The Mufti of Istanbul. A Study in the Development of the Ottoman Learned Hierarchy* (London 1986).

18. Abbreviated as Vd 37b/3.

19. Majer, *op.cit.* 16, 22.

20. Makarios III, his predecessor, had died in 1672 after a visit to Moscow in 1669. He is said to have 'toasted the Pope as his Holy Father at a dinner at the French Consulate at Damascus' late in 1662. Runciman, *op.cit.* 234.

(Vd 196b/1). This is an indication that Kirilos had to overcome objections to his appointment as patriarch, possibly from the side of the non-Greek clergy of the area whom the document, reflecting the Constantinopolitan view, refers to as 'the priests of the unbelievers of the mountains' (*dağlar keferesinin papasları*).

Ioachim(?), described as ex-patriarch of the Serbs, complained against some of his own officials from the time when he was acting patriarch.²¹ A number of Christians (named as Yanko, Yeroni, Ilarion, Hristos, etc.) whom he had sent out to collect the *miri*-taxes (i.e. those pertaining to the state) from his flock in the district of Foça for which he was responsible vis-à-vis the Ottoman treasury, had not handed over to him the sums they had duly collected, nor had they given him access to their accounts (*muhasebe*). He asked for an imperial decree which would enable him to take over the *miri* which, 'according to their (i.e. the Christians') unsound customs' (*ayin-i batileleri üzere*) he was to deliver to the Treasury. A decree was issued ordering the case to be investigated by a Muslim judge (Vd 201a/3-4).²²

Metropolitan bishops also appear as petitioners as mentioned above. We encounter the bishops of Üsküb (Skopje), Saray (Sarajevo), Siroz (Serres), Girid (Crete) and Silistra. Only the bishops of Crete (Philotheos?) and Silistra (Makarios) are mentioned by name. Both the metropolitans of Skopje and of Serres are represented in the Vienna *defter* by two entries each. In all cases, the bishops were dealing with financial or fiscal matters.²³

21. In 1675, the acting patriarch of the Serbs was Arsenij, referred to as such in the *şikayet defteri* (Vd 202a/1). I was unable to establish the identity of Ovakim (?Ioachim), but a reading error can be ruled out: ain — vav — elif — kaf — mim in both entries. On the Serb Orthodox church towards the middle of the 17th century see the important contribution (in Serbian) on the basis of Ottoman sources of R. Tričković, 'Srpska crkva sredinom XVII veka', *Glas CCCXX Srpske akademije nauka i umetnosti. Oddelenje istorijskih nauka* 2 (1980) 61-164, 7 tables, 1 map.

22. Both entries are dated *evail-i Cumazi II* 1086/ 23 August-1 September 1675.

23. The most comprehensive study of the contributions due to the Orthodox church in the Ottoman empire and its fiscal obligations towards the Ottoman treasury is J. Kabrda, *Le système fiscal de l'église orthodoxe dans l'empire ottoman* (Brno 1969).

Apart from the (unlawful) behaviour of the *serdar* (commander of the fortress) who had demanded the payment of an accession fee (*peşkeş*²⁴) from the bishop (Vd 36a/7, not repeated in the second reference to probably the same petition in Vd 44a/5), the metropolitan of Skopje was deeply concerned about demands on the part of officials (called *yasakçı*) who had been paid to collect taxes (*mal* [-i *miri*?]) on behalf of the bishop, in accordance with ancient custom.²⁵ He accused them of no longer being satisfied with their regular salaries (*ücret*), and of having argued that wherever there was a wedding, the wedding fee would belong to them, thus collecting 20 piastres (*kuruş*) from each priest (*papaz*) on top of their salaries.²⁶ The bishop of Skopje, not prepared to tolerate this, asked for an imperial decree to stop their actions which were contrary to, and in violation of, custom and law (*kanun*). In response, a *hüküm* was issued confirming the need to follow what is prescribed by ancient custom (Vd 44a/5). Here, as in the case of the former Serbian patriarch, the Ottoman authorities have been urged to take steps against officials acting on behalf of the petitioner himself.

A petition from Philotheos, described as the metropolitan of the *zimmis* of the island of Crete, belongs in a similar context. The bishop explained how, each year since he had been appointed to Crete, he had sent the fixed sum (*maktu*) of annually 50,000 *akçe* to the treasury in Candia. But when he had recently set out to collect the taxes *miri resim* and *tasadduk akceşi*²⁷ from the *reaya* on the island, as do other metropolitan bishops in other parts of the empire,²⁸ some people had claimed that they were in possession of a decree stating that such contributions for the

24. This is *not* the accession fee under the same name which metropolitan and episcopal sees under the patriarchate of Constantinople paid into the Treasury. For a list of the amounts due to the Treasury from each bishopric for the period 1641-1651 see H. Inalcik, 'Ottoman Archival Materials on *Millets*', Braude/Lewis, *Christians and Jews* (as in n.2) 1 437-449, especially 441-448.

25. Kabrda, *op.cit.* 61-65.

26. Kabrda, *op.cit.* 75-77.

27. Kabrda, *op.cit.* 72f. 'aumônes'.

28. Crete had only recently come under Ottoman control again. It is therefore *not* included in the *peşkeş*-list given by Inalcik (see n. 24).

metropolitanate might no longer be collected (by the bishop or his representatives). 'These we collect ourselves. It is we who deliver the annual lump-sum of 50,000 *akçe* to the treasury in Candia', the bishop reported them to have argued, claiming that they prevented him from taking control of the sum. Philotheos therefore asked for an imperial decree ordering that ancient custom be respected, that the stipulations of his *berat* be observed, and that no one interfere with (the collection of) the contributions. In response, a *hüküm* was issued by the Financial Department explaining that an investigation into the accounts of the Imperial Treasury (*hazine-i amire*) and an inspection of the most recent census register (*defter-i cedid*) confirmed that the annual lump-sum to be paid by the holder of the position of metropolitan of Crete amounts to 50,000 *akçe*, and that this would be stated in the renewal *berat* for Philotheos. Therefore, no one had the right to interfere with the bishop's collection of the contributions (*rüsumat ve mahsulat*) due to him (Vd 70a/2).²⁹ — Here, too, in striking similarity with the situation in some dioceses of the Serbian patriarchate, there is evidence which suggests that Christians, on occasion, resented, and openly opposed, the fiscal regime imposed on them by their bishops, rather than the payments as such.

The bishop of Sarajevo voiced grievances against various officials of the Ottoman provincial administration in Bosnia. He accused the governors (*mütesellim*) of the districts of Sarajevo, Banjaluka and Hlivno of robbing him (together with the *bey*, the *kapudanlar*, the *subaşılar* and *emins*³⁰ of Krka district) of thousands of *akçe*, which is contrary to *sharia* and *kanun*. He blames them for having stood in his way while collecting the *mal-i miri* taxes (due to him as their local bishop). He now asks for an imperial decree which would lead to the investigation of his

29. Dated *evail-i Muharrem* 1086/ 28 March-6 April 1675.

30. A modern general account of Ottoman fiscal and administrative practices, together with the relevant terminology, is found in R. Mantran (ed.), *Histoire de l'empire ottoman* (Paris 1989). Of particular importance are chapters VI (by G. Veinstein), VII (by R. Mantran) and IX (by G. Veinstein), covering the 16th and 17th centuries.

case by a Muslim judge. An order is issued demanding that his rights be respected, and no longer infringed, contrary to *sharia*, *kanun* and custom (Vd 56b/1).³¹

The metropolitan bishop of Serres sent a petition to the Imperial Diwan as a result of being harassed by a *bostancı* who claims that the bishop had guaranteed (was *kefil* for) a sum which the patriarch of Constantinople had borrowed from him (the *bostancı*). However, the bishop of Serres rejected all such claims and argued that neither did he owe anyone any money, nor had he offered any security. He asked for an imperial decree which would stop such illegal harassment in violation of the Holy Muslim law, and any interference in his own affairs. A *hüküm* is issued demanding that the case be investigated on the spot by a Muslim judge (Vd 69b/4).³² Some months later, the case is still dragging on. In spite of a court hearing in a *mahkeme*, the *bostancı* insisted on his position. A *müfti* was consulted, and a *fetva* issued. On the basis of this *fetva*, which found in the bishop's favour, he asked for an imperial decree to put an end to the *bostancı*'s activities. What he received was a *hüküm* stipulating that the case should go before a Muslim judge again, this time a high military officer (*zabit*) to be present at the hearing (Vd 105a/3).³³

The brief summary in the *defter* of what happened to the petition of Makarios, metropolitan bishop of Silistra, is largely incomprehensible. The scribe did not even bother to put down the names of those citizens of Constantinople who, according to what can be glimpsed from the distorted syntax in this entry, had forced the bishop to pay more than 1,000 Piastres and hand over to them a certain amount of cloth (*çuha*). The bishop is reported to have asked for a decree which would define what he had to pay according to Muslim religious law. A *hüküm* was promulgated

31. Dated *evahir-i Zilhicce* 1085/ 18-27 March 1675.

32. Dated *evail-i Muharrem* 1086/ 28 March-6 April 1675.

33. Dated *evahir-i Safer* 1086/ 17-26 May 1675. According to the *sharia*, a *kadi*'s sentence was final, and no appeal could normally be made against it, except by special order of the Sultan. The principle of *mazalim* allowed certain forms of appeal against the sentence of a *kadi*, particularly if he had not been instructed on the case directly by the Chief *kadi* in Istanbul. Heyd, *op.cit.* 257f.

in order to have his case investigated by a Muslim judge (Vd 181b/2), addressed to the Deputy Grand Vizier and the (Chief?) *kadi* of Istanbul.³⁴

What can be learned from the above evidence from an Ottoman Register of Complaints? It is, of course, impossible to draw any wider conclusions on the basis of a sample of no more than a dozen petitions. But a few observations with regard to this homogeneous group of *arzuhal*s all involving members of the Orthodox church should be permitted.

On the procedural side it is worth noting that the Ottoman practice of *mazalim*, although focussed, as in the earlier Islamic practice, on the ruler, nearly always includes the handing over of the case to 'a Muslim judge' for final judgement. This *kadi* is to decide on the basis of Muslim religious (*sharia*), secular (*kanun*) and/or customary law (*urf*), depending on the nature of the case. The ruler, or his deputy (the Grand Vizier), may receive the petitioner in person (such as Parthenios), but the decision lies, at least formally, with the Muslim judge. This is normal practice when Muslim and Christian (or generally non-Muslim) parties are involved. But this holds true also when both parties, the petitioner as well as the accused, are Christians as in the case of the Serbian patriarch complaining against his Christian tax collectors. In addition, one and the same case could be referred to a Muslim judge more than once (cf. the bishop of Serres vs. the *bostancı*). Only when payments to the Imperial Treasury (cf. the case of Philotheos) or similar concerns of the central authorities were involved did a *hüküm* merely refer to the evidence from the central archives, without requiring a formal decision of a *cadi*, or a legal statement by a *müfti*.

As far as contents are concerned, the *arzuhal*s presented here hardly confirm common stereotype views about 'the Great Church in captivity'. The clerics whose complaints reached the Imperial Diwan between January and September 1675 did not complain about forced Islamization of members of their flock; they do not

protest in favour of maltreated individuals from their community; they do not appear to be representing their flock in front of the Ottoman authorities. In none of the cases discussed can we observe the leaders of the Orthodox churches acting as '*millet başı*' or 'ethnarch'. They seem rather to be preoccupied with their own, chiefly financial, concerns.

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34. Dated *evahir-i Cumazi II* 1086/ 12-21 September 1675.

CRITICAL STUDY

Towards Post-Soviet Pre-Modernism: on recent approaches to early Rus(s)ian hagiography

SIMON FRANKLIN

The appearance of Paul Hollingsworth's book of translations, *The Hagiography of Kievan Rus'* (Hollingsworth 1992), provides the pretext for this survey. Tales of saints, or of candidates for sainthood, constitute a substantial proportion of the extant native literature of pre-Mongol Rus, comparable in volume only with the chronicles. This in itself has ensured that the study of hagiography has had a prominent place in the study of early Rus literature and culture, and hence in the wider field of *byzantinorussica*. In recent years native saints have benefited additionally from changes in the cultural and political climate: the advent of glasnost (from 1985), one of whose main themes was the recovery of the past; the millennium of the Conversion of the Rus, whose celebration in 1988 became a test and a manifestation of glasnost; and eventually, at the end of 1991, the collapse of the USSR and the sharpening of competition between national mythologies (competition for the same cultural space) both within and between the newly independent East Slav states of Russia, Ukraine and Belarus. The surge of 'native' interest has been matched, only in part fortuitously, by an increase in western publications.

The present survey is not fully comprehensive or systematic. It is intended to illustrate the main trends in the study of early East Slav hagiography over the last few years; but the notions of 'main', 'early' and 'few years' are deliberately imprecise; and the intention of being 'illustrative' has not fully stifled the temptation to be critical. Nor have I angled the survey specifically towards what I might assume to be the interests of Byzantinists. The byzan-

tinological implications and analogies will in places be obvious, but an exclusively byzantinocentric view would be far too narrow: after all, this is 'Commonwealth Studies', not the history of Empire. Quite arbitrarily I have devoted most of the space to books, while referring only briefly to articles. I offer no excuses for this lack of methodological rigour.

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1. I am grateful to Professor Poppe for sending me an advance copy of this article.

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It would be as well to start by refreshing readers' memories as to the scope of the subject. Who were the early saints, and what were the texts? the answers are not simple. They can vary according to (a) how we define a saint, and (b) how we define a hagiographic text. By the very narrowest of criteria — saints who are known to have been formally acknowledged by the metropolitan of Kiev before the mid-thirteenth century — the list might contain just three names: the princes Boris and Gleb, who were killed on the orders of their brother Sviatopolk ('the Cursed') in the struggle for succession after the death of their father Vladimir I in 1015; and Feodosii, abbot of the Kievan Monastery of the Caves (d. 1074), honoured as the founder of organized cenobitic monasticism among the Rus. Metropolitans of Kiev participated in translating the relics of Boris and Gleb in 1072 and 1115, and of Feodosii in 1108.

However, the narrowest criteria are not necessarily the most appropriate: they exclude local cults; they make spuriously plain the intrinsically blurred boundaries of recognized sanctity; and they make no allowances for our own ignorance (chance in the survival of a Life, Propers, miracle tales, a reliable narrative and a known feast day). Several recent studies are devoted to the chronology and circumstances of formal canonization (Khoroshev 1986; Müller 1992; Vodoff 1992; Fennell 1988, 1993; a special appendix in Senyk 1993: 450-455); but Bushkovitch (1992: 75-87) stresses that there is no evidence for centrally approved lists of saints in Rus or Russia at least until the mid sixteenth century, and that early procedures for the recognition of sanctity were (insofar as we know anything about them at all) not rigid.² As we relax the criteria, so the list grows longer. After his uncorrupted relics were unearthed in the early 1160s Leontii of Rostov, a mis-

2. Khoroshev (1986: 8) correctly notes that the Russian word *kanonizatsiia* is a nineteenth-century import.

sionary bishop from the 1070s, became the object of local veneration, and towards the end of the twelfth century the bishop of Rostov included him in the calendar of saints (see Lenhoff 1992a, 1993). The fire-and-brimstone preacher Avraamii of Smolensk (fl. c.1200) may or may not have been institutionally venerated (at least locally) before the mid thirteenth century. Tales of venerable and miracle-working monks were told in the Kievan Monastery of the Caves, but for centuries they appear in no calendar. Vladimir and Olga — the Converter of the Rus and his grandmother — were certainly revered in the pre-Mongol era, but their cult was not securely and centrally institutionalized until (probably) the 1280s. More princely saints were spawned in the period of the Mongol invasions themselves: Mikhail of Chernigov, killed at the Golden Horde in 1246; and Aleksandr Nevskii, hero of Eisenstein's film. Early saints swell the later lists (e.g. Evfrosiniia of Polotsk, Niphon of Novgorod, Antonii 'the Roman' of Novgorod, Merkurii of Smolensk). A history of 'canonization' is different from a history of veneration, which in turn is of course different from a history of sanctity.

The repertoire of texts can be as variable as the cast of characters. A 'core curriculum' of pre-Mongol hagiography would have to include: (i) two accounts of Boris and Gleb — an anonymous *Narration* (*skazanie*) which focusses on the manner of their deaths, and which is supplemented by a collection of miracle tales (probably composed independently); and Nestor's *Legend* ('Lection', 'Lesson' (*chtenie*)), which more ambitiously starts with the Creation and leads us decorously to the bloody end via the princes' virtuous childhood; and (ii) the *Life of Feodosii of the Caves*, also by Nestor. More tentatively one might add the *Life of Leon-tii of Rostov*, whose extant versions may be far from pristine, and Efrem's *Life of Avraamii of Smolensk*. Then the decisions and definitions become trickier. the *Life of Aleksandr Nevskii* is an odd mixture of hagiographic and military heroic formulae, and even medieval scribes were not quite sure how it should be labelled. The *Memorial and Encomium* for Vladimir, attributed to the monk Iakov, is also a hybrid, with constituent parts of uncertain date. Should one add the substantial *Paterikon* (*Paterik*) of the

Caves Monastery, compiled in the form of a correspondence in the 1220s? Gerhard Podskalsky's authoritative *Handbuch* places it in the category of *Askese* rather than *Hagiographie*;³ but it teems with miracles, many of its protagonists were surely venerated locally, and in its most widely reproduced extant redaction it also contains Nestor's *Life of Feodosii*. Or, if hagiography covers not just Lives but all writings related to saints, perhaps the corpus ought to include Ilarion's mid-eleventh-century eulogy to Vladimir (in his *Sermon on Law and Grace*), which argues specifically for the prince's sanctity; or the liturgical hymns for Boris and Gleb; or, more securely, readings for Boris and Gleb from the Synaxarion (*Prolog*) and Prophetologion (*Paremeinik*).

The field is capacious enough, and coherent enough, to accommodate a continual polyphony. Both the scope and the conundrums derive in part from the familiar looseness of the term 'hagiography' (is hagiography defined by subject, or by function, or by form? in what sense is it, or is it not, a genre?) and in part from a peculiarly local puzzle: there are few saints, but all of them were venerated for different qualities or achievements; and there are few texts, but all of them are different in structure and form. Thus it is relatively easy to possess the basic material and join the debates, but very difficult to reach general conclusions. And now more people can play the game than ever before, since, by courtesy of the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute and its benefactors, virtually the entire corpus of hagiographical and hagiological works has been made available to non-slavists in English translation. Paul Hollingsworth's volume, in the Translations series of the Harvard Library of Early Ukrainian Literature, presents English versions of both of the 'core' accounts of Boris and Gleb, Nestor's *Life of Feodosii of the Caves*, the *Memorial and Encomium* to Vladimir, and Efrem's *Life of Avraamii of Smolensk*, plus a cluster of appendices with Synaxarion and Pro-

3. G. Podskalsky, *Christentum und theologische Literatur in 'der Kiever Rus' (988-1237)* (Munich 1982) 159-170; cf. 106-145 on *Hagiographie*. Compare the less systematic coverage in D.S. Likhachev (ed.), *Slovar' knizhnikov i knizhosti Drevnei Rusi. XI-pervaia polovina XIV v.* (Leningrad 1987), where some works are listed by title, others by author, none by genre.

phetologion readings, a sermon, and chronicle accounts, all related to Boris and Gleb. The Caves *Paterikon* and Ilarion's eulogy to Vladimir appear in earlier volumes in the same series.⁴ If one has a quibble, it is over the unexplained absence of the *Life of Leontii of Rostov*, slight though the text may be. Leontii's name does not even figure in the index. In linguistic and ecclesiastical geography Leontii's claim to inclusion is no worse than that of Avraamii of Smolensk. Chronologically his claim is rather better. One hopes the reason for exclusion is not ideological.

Still, it would be churlish to spend too long chewing over the first word of the book's title (the definite article). Instead one should savour the gains. These are the first English versions of Efrem's *Life of Avraamii of Smolensk*, of Nestor's *Legend of Boris and Gleb*, and of the *Memorial and Encomium for Vladimir*, and the best English versions of the *Narration of Boris and Gleb* (with the miracle-tales) and of the *Life of Feodosii of the Caves*. In the latter case, Hollingsworth translates the twelfth-century text in the *Uspenskii sbornik*, which is in most respects superior to the interpolated version translated by Muriel Heppell as part of the Caves *Paterikon*. Hollingsworth also has the curious advantage of having supervised the publication of Heppell's version, as managing editor of the Harvard series at the time. For the merits of his version of the *Narration* one need look no further than the opening phrases, in comparison with the earlier translation of Kantor, who renders: 'Thus, these things came to pass before the time when the autocrat of the entire land of Rus' was Volodimir . . .'; cf. Hollingsworth (p.97) 'This indeed took place not long ago [*malom prezhe sikh*], when [dat. absol.] the autocrat of the whole land of Rus was Volodimer . . .'.⁵ Two errors in Kantor's version produce an absurd chronology. One could multiply such examples. In matters of fact — that is, in construing the syntax and vocabulary of the original — Hollingsworth's translation is

4. The *Paterikon* in Heppell (1989); Ilarion's eulogy in S. Franklin, *Sermons and Rhetoric of Kievan Rus'* (Harvard Library of Early Ukrainian Literature. English Translations 5, Cambridge, Mass. 1991). With this I must declare an interest in the series.

5. M. Kantor, *Medieval Slavic Lives of Saints and Princes* (Ann Arbor 1983) 165. Kantor translates the *Narration* and the miracles (165-253).

a notable advance. In general, then, his book succeeds commendably in what must surely be its main aim: to provide broadly reliable versions for those who lack access to the original.

On matters of detailed interpretation there is bound to be some nit-picking. Such is the unjust fate of translators. The plainest difficulties arise at the intersection between text and context. For example, in Hollingsworth's version of the account in the *Primary Chronicle* (p. 194), 'Iaroslav was then twenty eight years old' when he first took Kiev in 1016. This is (a) a rationalization of an ungrammatical statement in most of the MSS (which have Iaroslav in the wrong grammatical case for this meaning); and (b) inconsistent with the chronicles' subsequent statements that Iaroslav was aged 73 or 76 when he died in 1054. There should at least be an explanatory note.⁶ Or: when the chronicle states that the Kievans' 'brethren' (*brat' ia*) were with Boris, Hollingsworth narrows the meaning by translating 'brethren' as 'kinsmen' (which they may well not have been) (p. 185). More awkward decisions have to be taken when the source contains an imprecise quotation from another text. Does one leave things as they stand, or restore the 'correct' quotation? Thus, for example, Kantor (p. 193): 'But they, the accursed murderers [of Gleb], returned to the one who had sent them, just as David said: "Sinners shall be turned to hell, and all those that forget God"'. Compare Hollingsworth (p.110): 'The accursed murderers returned to the one who had sent them, even as David said, "Let sinners be driven away into Hades, even all the nations that forget God"'. In giving the 'correct' version of Ps 9:17 according to the Septuagint (in Brenton's translation), rather than rendering what the Slavonic manuscript actually says (as does Kantor, albeit approximately), Hollingsworth in effect indulges in creative writing. He also misses more completely than Kantor the important stylistic and thematic point here: the repetition of the verb 'to return' (*vozvratitisia*, applied both to the murderers and to the 'sinners'. These are minutiae, and in a sense

6. The Laurentian codex states that Iaroslav was in *Novgorod* for twenty eight years. On this passage see *Povesť vremennykh let*, ed. D.S. Likhachev, V.P. Adrianova-Peretts, 2 (Moscow, Leningrad 1950) 362-363.

it is unreasonable to dwell on them. I do not mean to denigrate Hollingsworth's admirable achievement; merely to re-emphasise the obvious: that sources in translation can be immensely useful surrogates, but should not be mistaken for the real thing.

Hollingsworth's introduction and annotations are as thorough and helpful as the established format for the series will allow. He is judicious in explaining the textual problems, firm but not fanatical in presenting his own views. A consideration of 'views', however, belongs to the main section of this survey, rather than to a summary of Hollingsworth's book by itself.

* * *

Let us start with the basics, with the bread and butter, with what Ihor Ševčenko has called 'normal science':⁷ that is, with the study of the texts, their manuscripts, their sources, their affiliations and interrelationships. Unfortunately, if unsurprisingly, there is little of substance to report. The major critical editions of the hagiographical narratives on Boris and Gleb date from 1916 and 1928.⁸ The *Life of Avraamii of Smolensk* was edited in 1912,⁹ the Caves Paterikon in 1931.¹⁰ There is still no modern critical edition of any of the other hagiographical accounts of the period.¹¹ In other words, the mid-Soviet era virtually extinguished serious textual work on early hagiography. Signs of revival have been spasmodic since the first 'thaw', in occasional — and now

7. I. Ševčenko, *Byzantium and the Slavs in Letters and Culture* (Cambridge, Mass., Naples 1991) ix.

8. D.I. Abramovich, *Zhitiia sviatykh muchenikov Borisa i Gleba i sluzhby im* (Petrograd 1916); reprinted with an introduction by L. Müller (Slavische Propyläen 14, Munich 1967); S. Bugoslavskii, *Ukraiino-rus'ki pamiatky XI-XVIII vv. pro kniaziv Borysa ta Hliba. Rozvidka i teksty* (Kiev 1928).

9. S.P. Rozanov, *Zhitiia prepodobnogo Avraamii Smolenskogo i sluzhby emu* (St. Petersburg 1912); reprinted with an introduction by D. Tschizewskij (Slavische Propyläen 15, Munich 1967).

10. D.I. Abramovich, *Kyievo-Pechers'kyi Poteryk* (Kiev 1931); reprinted with an introduction by Tschizewskij (Slavische Propyläen 2, Munich 1964).

11. Several of the texts appear, with modern Russian translations, in the series *Pamiatniki literatury Drevnei Rusi: XI-nachalo XII veka* (Moscow 1978) 279-303 (the *Narrative*), 305-391 (the *Life of Feodosii*); *XIII vek* (Moscow 1981) 66-105 (the *Life of Avraamii of Smolensk*); but these are not new editions.

increasingly frequent — publication of texts from single manuscripts: the *Memorial and Encomium for Vladimir* in 1963;¹² the linguists' edition of the highly important *Uspenskii sbornik* in 1971, with the *Narration* and the *Miracles* of Boris and Gleb and the *Life of Feodosii*;¹³ manuscripts of the brief *Life of Leontii of Rostov* published in a popular anthology by Filippovskii in 1982,¹⁴ and in — at last — a major critical study by Semenchenko (1989). Ranchin (1987) makes another attempt at unravelling the knots in the cluster of stories on Boris and Gleb. As for non-Soviet textual work: Revelli (1988) updates the repertory of manuscripts containing the *Narration*.

On the textual links with Byzantium (i.e. on Byzantine sources and models) there has been virtually nothing new, whether in the east or in the west, over the past decade.¹⁵ Vereecken (1992) argues that parts of Nestor's *Life of Feodosii* allude to the Slavonic translation of the *Tale of Barlaam and Ioasaph*. Perhaps the Dumbarton Oaks Hagiography Project will eventually help slavists to re-search the Byzantine material, true byzantinists being extremely rare.

* * *

But what are mere texts, in our semiologically sophisticated age? How much more crowded the field becomes when we look not at texts alone but at subtexts, contexts and intertexts! Interpreters thrive. George Fedotov's classic study of early saints, expanded into the first volume of his *The Russian Religious Mind* seems more distant in scholarly time than in the half-century of linear time which separates it from us.¹⁶ Fedotov relied on the efficacy

12. A.A. Zimin, 'Pamiat' i pokhvala Iakova Mnikha i Zhitie kniazia Vladimira po drevneishemu spisku', *Kratkie soobshcheniia Instituta slavianovedeniia* 37 (1963) 66-75.

13. O.A. Kniazevskaia et al. (ed.), *Uspenskii sbornik XII-XIII vv.* (Moscow 1971).

14. V.V. Kuskov (ed.), *Drevnerusskie predaniia (XI-XVI vv.)* (Moscow 1982) 125-129.

15. For what is known, see Hollingsworth (1922) xxxvi-xxxviii, xli-xlii, lxxiii-lxxiv; also F.J. Thomson, 'The implications of the absence of quotations of untranslated Greek works in original early Russian literature, together with a critique of a distorted picture of early Bulgarian culture', *Slavica gaudensia* 15 (1988) 66-68, 82-90.

16. G. Fedotov, *Sviatyie Drevnei Rusi* (Paris 1931; repr. 1985).

and sufficiency of strange qualities like insight, sensitive reading, experience, scholarly breadth and understanding. He even claimed to be letting the early sources 'speak for themselves'.¹⁷ Poor man, he makes an easy target. Fedotov's studies 'tell us more about Fedotov than about Rus' (Hollingsworth 1992: xxi, alluding with approval to Bortnes). Nowadays, of course, we are objective. After all, we have method, or (better still) theory, which protects the observed from cultural interference by the observer. Or perhaps, conversely, we continually devise new forms of cultural interference. Hagiography has become a laboratory for new approaches.

The purest practitioner is Waszink, who with enviable assurance asserts that 'for a semiological study of art and literature Peirce's definitions of the interpretant of a sign as well as Wittgenstein's definition of the shadow (*Schatzen*) are essential' (Waszink 1990: 114). Well, now we know. Just in case not all readers instantly recall Peirce's definitions of the interpretant of a sign, let Waszink remind us: 'That for which [a sign] stands is called its object, that which it conveys is its meaning, and the idea to which it gives rise, is its interpretant . . . Thus the meaning of a representation can be nothing but a representation of which the first representation is the interpretant'. (p.13) Waszink then devotes most of his book to explaining, in these terms, the nature of medieval verbal and visual representation (plus an excursus on the chorus in Greek tragedy), before concluding that 'the interpretant-value of verbal signs of the 'Life of Aleksandr Nevskij' emerges from the specific use of text-parts with a deictic function such as negative statements'.

Once one learns Waszink's language, and if one ignores the claim to exclusive correctness, then his approach can have quite useful applications. His prosodic analysis of the *Life*, breaking it down into isocola, is productive, if textually dubious. The point, however, is that his book is not really about hagiography at all. The title implies that this will be a use of theory to interpret a work of hagiography, whereas in fact the reverse connection is primary:

17. G. Fedotov, *The Russian Religious Mind (I). Kievan Christianity. The 10th to the 13th Centuries* (Cambridge, Mass. 1946; repr. Belmont, Mass. 1975).

this is the use of a text (which happens to be hagiographical) to illustrate a theory. Waszink puts it plainly enough: 'The role played by an interpretant text in medieval literature is explained by an analysis of the Primary Version of the "Life of Aleksandr Nevskij"'. (p.8)

Likewise Morris (1993) uses hagiography to make a point about something else. She is interested in structural typologies, in recurrent patterns of literary composition. In particular, she compares early Russian Lives not with Byzantine sources and prototypes but with novels of secular 'ascetics' in nineteenth- and twentieth-century Russian Literature. The basic patterns are supplied by Efrem's *Life of Avraamii of Smolensk* and Nikolai Chernyshevskii's Utopian novel *What is to be Done?*. Morris is not the first to spot the parallels, but she is the first to try to explore and account for them systematically. Her system is eclectic, drawing on Joseph Campbell's definition of heroic sequence, Wilhelm Worringer's theories on naturalistic and non-naturalistic art, and Alistair Fowler on literary forms. She starts with Campbell's sequence, which involves three phases: separation, initiation and return. For Morris's ascetic, separation (from social, bodily, temporal or spatial constraints) is crucial. He is driven either by the desire for self-perfection (freeing the spirit, union with God) or by an apocalyptic expectation (social, historical or metaphysical). He may or may not achieve initiation, but the peculiarity of the ascetic pattern, according to Morris, is in the pointed absence of the third phase: he does not return. Though the ascetic is himself uncomplicated, pursuing a direct course, unhampered by inner contradiction, most easily compatible with non-naturalistic modes of portrayal, nevertheless the difficulties in the 'separation' phase can provide a means to anchor a narrative in real time.

Morris's argument is sometimes revealing, and necessarily flawed. She has some bold phrases on hagiographical form (e.g. sections entitled 'Hagiography and the poetics of the abstract', and 'Hagiography and the poetics of resistance') (Morris 1993: 33-38, 61-64). Yet she is unworried by medieval specificities, or by sources and provenances. Narrative is narrative. Her observations on the relationship between type of hero and narrative method can be

acute. The flaw is that she wants her own structure of argument to be neater than the material will easily allow; and where there is conflict, she tends to adjust the material rather than the theory. A minor consequence is that she is forced, through subtle re-definitions, to reduce the material until it matches the theory (thus her definitions of 'ascetic' are far too narrow to be of much use to the historian of medieval culture). A more serious consequence is, on occasion, plain distortion of fact. For example, her chapter on the Caves *Paterikon* (pp. 39-60) is built around a neatly but spuriously manufactured polemic on asceticism between the work's co-compilers, Simon and Polikarp: twisting into the desired shape the vague charge of 'pride', Morris ignores Simon's explicit and awkwardly non-ascetic accusation — that Polikarp was covetous in trying to use influence in high places to procure a bishopric (cf. Heppell 1989: 117-118).

If Waszink and Morris looks outwards from hagiography to theory, others try to look inwards from theory to hagiography. The most ambitious among them is Toporov, who has already produced three substantial studies, each the length of a small book: on Ilarion, on Boris and Gleb, and on Feodosii (Toporov 1988, 1989, 1992-3). A project seems to be emerging which in scale would match that of Fedotov. But Fedotov thought that it was enough to read the texts, to assume that they mean what they appear to say, and to draw out that meaning with empathetic insight. Toporov is a different breed. Here is a scholar who was co-author of a book entitled *Slavonic Linguistic Semiotic Modelling Systems (the Early Period)*,¹⁸ in which he attempted to devise a 'meta-language of culture' — in context, a notational system into which cultural phenomena could be translated. His particular expertise is as a linguist, and as one of the founding fathers of the Russian school of semiotics in the 1960s he is not afraid to link philological minutiae to grand culturological conceptualizations. His study of Boris and Gleb, entitled 'The idea of sanctity [or 'the holy'] in early Rus' (Toporov 1989), is focused more on the holy than on

18. V.V. Ivanov, V.N. Toporov, *Slavianskie iazykovye modeliruiushchie semioticheskie sistemy (drevnii period)* (Moscow 1965).

Boris and Gleb. The plan, admirable in theory, is to discover the specific local features of the Christian notion of the holy by trying to discover the pre-Christian content of the same set of words. Toporov rightly notes, as his point of departure, that the Slavs did not borrow or transliterate Byzantine words for sanctity and holiness;¹⁹ that local terms existed which were felt to be equivalent, and whose traditional pre-Christian connotations must have been part of their complex semantics when they were transferred to Christian usage. Unfortunately, no pre-Christian Rus texts on holiness exist. Toporov's solution is to fix the local meanings by placing them in the largest possible semantic field: that of related words from across the entire range of medieval and ancient Indo-European languages. Thus with fearsome erudition (or is it a game of linguists' bluff?) he pursues derivatives, or assumed derivatives, of *k'uen-to- through the *Rigveda* and Indo-Iranian languages, before ending up in one short text, the *Narration* of Boris and Gleb.

The plan is logical, the procedure is painstaking, but the result looks uncomfortably arbitrary. The semantic field becomes massively diffuse and — quite apart from my vulgar suspicions when chains upon chains of etymological and semantic hypothesis are strung together — I do not see any persuasive device by which the relevant bits of meaning are pinned to time and place: in short, I am not sure that the huge detour brings one any closer to knowing what resonance the root *sviat-* [*svet-] would have had for a pagan or neophyte-inhabitant of Rus in the tenth or eleventh century. Etymologies told John Allegro that Christ was a mushroom. Etymologies tell Toporov that Boris and Gleb were vegetables; or rather, that they represent a duality of fertility and abundance, of youth and maturity, of ripening and harvest, freedom and death, free will and sacrifice. The first subtitle of Toporov's article is '*willing sacrifice* as imitation of Christ'. Well, yes. We are back where many others have been before. It is indeed perfectly possible that

19. But Toporov fails to note a significant exception: when the text is part of an image. Hence the frequent 'ὁ ἅγιος' labelling the saint in Russian iconography: see S. Franklin, 'Greek in Kievan Rus', *DOP* 46 (1992) 76-81.

the resonances of Boris and Gleb's holiness were 'deeper and more complex than their usual interpretation' (p. 66), but, despite the apparently exhaustive quasi-documentation, Toporov's claim to have captured those resonances is not compelling.

Turning to Feodosii, Toporov (1992-23) stacks away his etymologist's kit-bag and takes out a different set of tools: those of the literary semiotician. His study of the founder of East Slav cenobitic monasticism is longer, more directly devoted to its ostensible subject, more consistently concerned with elucidating the hagiographic material. The categories of analysis look familiar, with sections on 'temporal structures', 'spatial structures', 'autography' (the implied author and authenticity-devices) — standard categories for students of textual poetics over the last thirty years. Yet Toporov's analysis is curiously framed. He starts with a paraphrase of Florovsky's views on the Russian soul — a soul in which a sense of large, vacant and formless space predominates over a sense of linear time, a soul thus predisposed towards the passive and the mystical, the artistic and the eschatological, with ■ weak sense of causation and responsibility. For Toporov, Nestor's Feodosii offers a counter-model, where social and physical space are populated and organised, where time has a sequence in harmony with space. The compositional structures of the *Life* reveal Feodosii as (in the words of the article's title) a model of 'industriousness and . . . spiritual sobriety'.

Børtnes (1988), himself a devotee of semiotic discipline, sees a different Feodosii. He, too, draws heavily on literary theory — the main source of inspiration here being: 'Roman Jakobson's definition of the poetic function of language, and his opposition between *selection* (the paradigmatic axis of language) and *combination* (the axis of concatenation) as the two cardinal operations of the speech act', leading to Jakobson's theory of metaphor and metonymy as the key elements in the 'bipolar structure of all semiotic systems' (p. 23). With this as his main guide, and through detailed readings which are both rigorous and sensitive, Børtnes arrives at some radical reinterpretations. The centrepiece of the book, for example, is an analysis of the late-fourteenth- or early-fifteenth-century *Life of Stefan of Perm* by Epifanii (pp.

136-193). A common assumption (after Dmitrii Likhachev) is that Epifanii's highly ornate, rhythmic and assonantal 'word-weaving' style is a Muscovite expression of the mystical theology associated with Hesychasm. Børtnes, however, finds that the dominant mode in the *Life*, both structurally and stylistically, is metonymic (paratactic, agglomerative, linear), that Epifanii focusses on external sequence and achievement, and that neither the method nor the substance of the *Life* are easily compatible with Palamite contemplation. By contrast, Børtnes identifies the dominant mode in Nestor's *Life of Feodosii* as metaphoric, expressed through the saint's light-visions, and concludes that the *Life* thereby 'demonstrates that the mystical theology of Orthodox Neo-Platonism was known in Kiev even by the eleventh century' (p. 84). This vague use of 'was known' is slightly misleading. Børtnes produces a subtle analysis of the function of light-visions in the *Life*, but it is most unlikely that any eleventh-century Kievan would have identified such functions as being derived from 'Orthodox Neo-Platonism'.

The bare summary does Børtnes less than justice. These are rich and careful readings of major texts from the eleventh to the late seventeenth centuries, a sustained and intellectually cohesive application of literary theory, pre-deconstruction, in the service of theology.

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While Børtnes and Toporov look for intrinsic meaning (generated by textual and linguistic structures), Gail Lenhoff sees not only meaning but also the textual structures themselves as being generated by context. In her important and continuing series of studies (Lenhoff 1989, 1992a, 1992b) she therefore develops an argument in two directions simultaneously: inwards to an understanding of hagiography as literary form, and outwards to 'sociocultural' interpretation.

Like Wazink, Børtnes and Toporov, Lenhoff also takes her cue from critical or semantic theory: 'this methodology finds its inspiration and closest analogy in the work of the *Formgeschichte*

critics, who sought to clarify the norms and customs that produced elementary literary forms in the early Christian period' (1989: 7; also 18, referring specifically to Rudolf Bultmann and Martin Dibelius). She starts with a critique of the notion of *genre* as applied to early Russian works. Her view is that there was no such thing, or at least that familiar meanings of the term are inadequate, if genre is taken to imply a fixed relationship between literary function and conventional form. In fact, as she points out, identical forms can apparently serve different generic functions and, conversely, works with apparently equivalent functions can be comprised of different mixtures of forms. Lenhoff prefers to term such usage 'protogeneric' rather than 'generic'.²⁰ What, then, governs the choice of form? For Lenhoff, hagiographic writings were shaped not by their relationship to previous writings, not by a rigid adherence to established literary norms ('horizontal bonds'), but by sociocultural factors (their '*Sitz im Leben*', 'vertical bonds'). Thus she insists that, in the cluster of works on Boris and Gleb, changes in form should be associated with changes in message and milieu from the mid-eleventh to the early twelfth century. She argues that there was an early 'syncretic' veneration, amenable both to Christian and to residual pagan sensibilities and preconceptions; subsequent attempts were made to modify or appropriate the cult, and the diverse texts were shaped by the diverse contexts. Besides the theoretical issues, Lenhoff's book is the most extensive and up-to-date introduction to the fullest range of works on Boris and Gleb (including the liturgical pieces), while her article on Leontii of Rostov (1992a) contributes to political (and 'sociocultural') as well as literary history.²¹

Lenhoff is one of several scholars working on genre, and most of them gather from time to time at the Berlin Slavic Seminar, which has a long-term project on genre in early Slavonic literatures. The latest conference-volume (Seemann 1992) includes six articles

20. G. Lenhoff, 'Towards a theory of protogenres in medieval Russian letters', *The Russian Review* 43 (1984) 31-54.

21. On the political and literary background to the *Life of Leontii of Rostov* see, besides Lenhoff (1992a), G.I. Filippovskii, *Stoletie derzhanii. (Vladimirskaia Rus' v literature XII v.)* (Moscow 1991).

which address hagiography: Gerhard Birkfellner on the notion of a *paterik*, Valentina Izmirlieva on a 'hypothetical hagiographic genre' in the work of Evtimii of Tŭrnovo, Lenhoff herself (1992b) on the *Life* of the thirteenth-century prince Fedor Chernyi, studies by Maria Pliukhanova and Lucjan Suchanek on the relations between individual hagiographic texts and a generic tradition or model, Wolf-Heinrich Schmidt on the 'genre' of *Translationsberichte* (cf. also Lenhoff 1993 on relics).

On the importance of context Hollingsworth ostensibly agrees with Lenhoff: 'The main historical shortcomings of the usual approaches to the cult of Boris and Gleb is their failure to locate the cult solidly within the Rus social and cultural framework' (Hollingsworth 1992: li, citing the authority of Peter Brown: Hollingsworth largely ignores critical theory). Immediately, however, he undercuts a substantial part of Lenhoff's analysis of Boris and Gleb, stating that it is 'impossible' to find a precise context for the earliest development of the cult. Lenhoff is indeed obliged to cut some corners, to take a firm view of matters which cannot be firmly resolved, such as the chronology of the texts, the chronology and milieu of veneration, the 'real' events behind the narratives. Abandoning chronological and social exactitude as futile (at least with regard to Boris and Gleb), Hollingsworth locates meaning at the intersection of two rather broader contexts; on the one side, Byzantine hagiographic tradition; and on the other side the political ethics of the Rus. The Rus hagiographers found a Byzantine religious paradigm (the charisma of the martyr) for a story of native politics: they transfigured a tale of fratricide to construct a native ideal of Christian kinship (li-lvii).

Sciacca (1990) stresses one side of this equation, arguing (*pace* Fedotov, of course), that the cult of the martyred brothers was not fostered in order to promote a peculiarly local brand of sanctity, but rather the opposite: to show that the Rus', too, could produce authentic saints, where authenticity was measured in terms of conformity with authoritative prototypes. The *strastoterptsy* (a characteristically local concept of spirituality, according to Fedotov) were in fact 'ἀθλοφόροι'. Work on the culture of cults (or should we speak of *Rezeptionsgeschichte*?) continues in several

directions: Prochazka (1987) on how Boris and Gleb, heroes of non-resistance, became transformed into military protectors; Poljakov (1988) on fifteenth- and sixteenth-century perceptions of Leontii of Rostov (nicely complementing Lenhoff 1992a).

Khoroshev (1986) is likewise concerned with hagiography in its historical setting. A *Life* is a 'type of publicistic essay. Behind the formal scheme of the hagiographical narrative one can feel the pulse of the real historical circumstances', of the time when the recognition of a saint 'was dictated by concrete historical reality' (Khoroshev 1986: 7). With allowances for inelegance, this seems consistent with the position of Lenhoff and Hollingsworth (although Khoroshev's cited authority is neither Bultmann nor Brown but Kliuchevskii). As we have already seen, however, there can be many notions of context, and the interpretations vary accordingly. For Toporov and Børtnes the context is textual and cultural; for Lenhoff — 'sociocultural'; for Hollingsworth — 'sociopolitical'. Khoroshev completes the progression: for him the only significant context is political. Rulers and their tame churchmen promoted the cult of saints for political ends, and hagiography was a form of political propaganda. Khoroshev pursues the investigation across the first half-millennium of Christianity among the Rus', trying to establish why which saints were recognized and promoted where and when and for what political purpose. It is good to have a sustained inquiry into this aspect of the cult of saints, but Khoroshev habitually falls into the obvious trap which awaits a monocausalist in a field where evidence is sparse: besides interpreting the known facts in political terms, he supplies missing facts on the basis of political hypothesis. His reconstructions are far more speculative than the presentation suggests.

* * *

So much for studies of the thing itself; of what hagiography was, of what the texts mean, or meant at different times, of why they were produced. Hagiography is also a source, evidence for things outside itself. Here too there are recent developments and

divergences. As one would expect, the most widespread endeavour is to scour hagiography for 'facts' (above all on the life of the saint himself). An awareness of *topoi* induces caution, but extreme scepticism is rare. While acknowledging basic distinctions between hagiography, biography and documentary record, most would seem to concur with the assertion that 'the mere use of commonplaces to describe an event does not mean that the event did not take place' (Hollingsworth 1992: xlix).

The *Life of Feodosii* and the *Paterikon* are the principal sources for the history and nature of early Kievan monasticism. Here an old problem might now be vulnerable to new solutions. The problem is an apparent mis-match between, on the one hand, claims made in Nestor's *Life* about the monastic regime imposed by Feodosii and, on the other hand, the impression of monastic life conveyed in the *Paterikon*. The *Life* tells of how Feodosii received 'the entire rule of the Stoudios Monastery . . . and ordered it to be read before the brethren. Henceforth he arranged everything in his monastery according to the rule of the Stoudios monastery, just as his disciples do to this day'. (Hollingsworth 1992: 53).²² the *Paterikon*, by contrast, depicts a community which was apparently not in all things subject to strict cenobitic regulation: although there was a fairly elaborate division of labour, and although the monks were under the authority of their superior, nevertheless the *Paterikon* shows the tolerance of a wide range of personal ascetic practices.

By dogmatic scepticism one could circumvent the issue. For example, the monks of the Caves were keen to associate their monastery with all the proper predecessors: Palestinian, as in Nestor's allusions to St. Sabas and use of Cyril of Skythopolis (e.g. Hollingsworth 1992: 80); Athonite, through the wanderings of Antonii of the Caves (see Heppell 1989: 18-20); and Studite, through the importation of the typikon. The narratives may be derived more from the pious wish than from facts. Similarly, many anecdotes in the *Paterikon* may be more closely related to literary

22. The *Life* and the *Primary Chronicle* differ as to how exactly the typikon was acquired. See *Povest' vremennykh let* 1, 107.

models than to the actual life of the Caves. For some, therefore, the disparity between the *Life of Feodosii* and the *Paterikon* may be more literary than historical. Others prefer to assume that there is some connection between the texts and the facts. It is suggested, for example, that practices in the Caves may have changed over time: Feodosii himself prescribed strict cenobitic monasticism, but the monastery came to accept the accommodation — typical in large Byzantine monasteries of the same period — between cenobitic and idiorrhythmic modes of life (Podskalsky 1990: 719; von Lilienfeld 1993). Senyk (1993: 259-264) speculates simply that Nestor was mistaken, and that Feodosii in fact introduced only the Studite liturgical typikon rather than the full rule governing monastic discipline.²³ What is lacking, however, is a thorough modern comparison of the Caves sources with the rule itself (and indeed with contemporary Byzantine practice). This now looks to be more feasible. Segments of the rule for monastic discipline are published, and apparently a full edition has been prepared.²⁴

The enigmatic 'facts' behind the *Lives* of Boris and Gleb are political, as historians continue to puzzle over what actually happened in the fratricidal power-struggle between the sons of Vladimir. Filist (1990) gives fresh but vastly over-strained impetus to the most extreme of the various conspiracy-theories: that Boris and Gleb were murdered not by the evil Sviatopolk but by Yaroslav the Wise himself, and that the cult of Boris and Gleb, sponsored by Yaroslav, was a devious cover-up. Poppe (1994) does not dispute the identity of the murderer, but motivates the crime by arguing

23. The relevant version is that which was issued in 1034 by the Patriarch Alexios the Studite for the Monastery of the Dormition. It may or may not be coincidental that the main church in the Monastery of the Caves was dedicated to the Dormition.

24. Annotated English translation of part of the liturgical section (not from the earliest or most complete manuscript): D.M. Petras, *The Typicon of the Patriarch Alexios the Studite: Novgorod-St. Sophia 1136* (Cleveland, 1991). Extracts from the section on monastic discipline ed D.S. Ishchenko, '“Ustav studiiskii” po spisku XII v. Fragmenty', in S.I. Kotkov, V.Ia. Deriagin (ed.), *Istochniki po istorii russkogo iazyka* (Moscow 1976) 109-130. Manuscripts with only the liturgical rule are more common than those which also have the rule for monastic discipline. The fullest study is still M. Lisitsyn, *Pervonachal'nyi slaviano-russkii tipikon* (St. Petersburg 1911). A completed but unpublished edition by Korotkov is reported by Podskalsky (1990: 719).

that Boris, though a younger son, was Vladimir's chosen and 'legitimate' heir, since he was born to Vladimir's Christian wife Anna, sister of Basil II. Small objections — such as the fact that the native sources state that Boris's mother was a 'Bulgarian woman' — are swept aside with conviction, if not convincingly.

Such uses of the hagiographical legacy are important but limited. There is a notable absence of detailed study of hagiography as a source for social history, or for the history of social attitudes (apart from attitudes towards the saints and sanctity). Naturally social historians from time to time refer to bits and pieces of the hagiographical texts, whether on traditional topics like social stratification, or on new themes as in Pushkareva's recent book on women.²⁵ But there is plenty of scope for expansion. The potential both of the *Paterikon* and of the *Life of Feodosii of the Caves* in this respect is constantly stressed (albeit with suitable caveats about commonplaces), but the potential has barely begun to be exploited. This is a symptom. Study of society and social attitudes in Kievan Rus is underdeveloped. The causes are partly intrinsic: the relative scarcity of texts, the fact that each text seems to be individual, unlike the others, hence the difficulty of persuasive generalization, hence the attractiveness of self-contained analytical experimentation.

Contrast Muscovite hagiography: dozens of works, far more stable and repetitive generic patterns, hundreds of manuscripts — well suited (as Kievan hagiography is not) to provide the main set of sources for Bushkovitch (1992) in his study of the religion of the Muscovite elite. Historians of religion (as opposed to historians of the Church) have tended to view the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries as a period of stagnation or decline: after the Golden Age of Russian spirituality in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Muscovite Orthodoxy lost its capacity for self-renewal, became an inert adjunct of grand princely and tsarist

25. N.L. Pushkareva, *Zhenshchiny Drevnei Rusi* (Moscow 1989) 39; cf. E. Levin, *Sex and Society in the World of the Ancient Slavs, 900-1700* (Ithaca and London 1989); also, with broader scope, B.A. Romanov, *Liudi i nrayi Drevnei Rusi. Istoriko-bytovyie ocherki XI-XIII vv.*, 2nd ed. (Moscow, Leningrad 1966) 154-181.

power, a provider of lush pomp for fur-hatted provincial merchants. Bushkovitch, however, sees a period of rapid change. For him the most notable phenomenon in sixteenth-century spirituality was the proliferation of miracle cults, mostly local in origin. Although the aristocracy did not often participate directly, nevertheless the cults were accepted and fostered by the elites as conducive to a myth of national and inclusive culture. At the same time Bushkovitch points to the emergence of the clergy, in place of the monks, as the key figures of authority in the religious life of these upper social groups. Towards the middle of the seventeenth century the movement of ecclesiastical zealots took a more critical view of miracle cults, reduced the number of recognized saints, and directed attention more towards the qualities of a saint's life than towards alleged posthumous interventions. This emphasis on personal ethics, rather than on revelation, contributed to the development of the sermon — in place of the miracle-tale — as the focus of religious teaching.

It would be far more problematic to conduct such a study for the earlier period, where each rare and precious source allows scope for generalization about little other than itself. Conversely, the relative abundance of late Muscovite Lives is perhaps inhibiting for the experimentalists, who seem drawn towards the opportunities for enclosed reading which the early sources provide.

* * *

Thus far the survey has been arranged by theme, by intellectual approach. I have feigned blindness to modern cultural geography. If one is interested primarily in hagiography, then this is doubtless the right way to proceed. But it would be a pity to ignore — and perhaps it would be useful to be aware of — a curious pattern which emerges if one divides the modern studies not by theme but by provenance. One might expect to find, above all, a clear distinction between Soviet and post-Soviet scholarship. To some extent such a distinction does exist. From the 1930s to the mid 1980s there was almost no serious interpretative

investigation of hagiography published in the Soviet Union.²⁶ Khoroshev (1986) and Kuskov (1990), pioneers in their own context, are careful to frame their works in strictly orthodox Soviet terms. But by the end of the 1980s the Soviet conceptual packaging was already being discarded. Very rapidly it came to look almost quaintly outmoded. Khoroshev's book, despite its many flaws, acquires an oddly enhanced value through having appeared in this brief window in time, when a previously unacceptable theme could be explored in Soviet terms which were themselves soon to become unacceptable.

The destruction of the virtual taboo on hagiography was swift, if at first cautious. Initially it was restricted to 'safe' academic contexts: Khoroshev in 1986; the 1988 reprint of Kliuchevskii's 1871 classic on hagiography as historical source, with a new scholarly appendix listing current locations of over three hundred manuscripts used by Kliuchevskii; in 1990 a surreptitious printing of very substantial chunks of the Synaxarion (*Prolog*) in an obscure book on early Russian themes in nineteenth-century literature (Derzhavina 1990). Then came the flood, as one orthodoxy was openly exchanged for another; as metropolitans and patriarchs everywhere edged Party secretaries off public podia (as participants in the 1991 Byzantine Congress will remember). Saints became fashionable, subsidized scholarly publishing collapsed with the economy, popular reprints of Lives and calendars proliferated and pushed historians off the bookstalls (e.g. *Slovar'* 1991; *Paterik* 1991; *Skazanie* 1991; Kiselev 1992). The end of prohibition was not an unmixed blessing for the former bootleggers. Russian work which would previously have cost a few roubles in the Academy shop is now issued for unaffordable quantities of deutchmarks and guilders by German and Dutch publishers.²⁷

However, if one imagines that the abolition of Soviet schematism led instantly to a merging of Russian and western scholarship,

26. A notable exception is L.A. Dmitriev, *Zhitiinye povesti russkogo severa kak pamiatniki literatury XIII-XVIII vv.* (Leningrad 1973).

27. Toporov (1988, 1989, 1992-3); cf. D.M. Bulanin, *Antichnoe nasledie v drevnerusskoi literature XI-XVI vv.* (Slavistische Beiträge 278, Munich 1991).

one would be wrong. In fact there is a continuity no less striking than the disruption.

Khoroshev (1986: 5) lays out his programme: 'the Communist education of the workers requires an improvement in the scientific basis of atheist propaganda'; to explain 'the truth' about the cult of saints is 'one of the most important tasks of atheist propaganda'. This task was especially urgent, since 'the history of canonization is being actively used by the Orthodox Church in order to give the cult of saints the semblance of a socially progressive ideological movement'. And worse still, 'the history of Russian canonization is being used in foreign publications, where it has the character of an ideological diversion against Soviet ideology' (Khoroshev 1986: 4).

All true. But by 1990 the genie was out, and mere containment (through contextualization) was a lost cause. Old-style historians sought new-style justification. Thus Kuskov (1990: 12) on the aims of a Marxist-Leninist study of hagiography: 'to look beneath the *Life's* cloak of religion and mystery so as to identify features from the real life (political, economic, social, mundane) of Old Russian society, to follow the changes in generic form and in the style of hagiographic literature, to define its place in the historico-literary process, to elucidate its social and class-based content, and to reveal whatever of value our glorious ancestors bequeathed to their descendants'. [my italics — S.F.]

In the same year Borisov, in his biography (not yet neo-hagiography) of Sergii of Radonezh, is almost coy in his excuses: his book aims to 'ease the reader's path to Sergii . . . Does the author really need at every step to tug the reader by the sleeve so as to remind him that all this is remote from our own conceptions, alien to materialistic views?' (Borisov 1990: 10). Introducing a text of the *Life of Sergii of Radonezh*, together with a collection of non-Soviet articles on the saint, the prominent linguist V.V. Kolesov comments: 'One can have various attitudes to the thought, the feelings and the words collected in this book. It depends on the reader, who will test himself in his attitude to the memory of his ancestors' (Kolesov 1991: 6). The historian S.A. Beliaev (with his professional credentials duly noted: 'candidate

of historical sciences') introduces the reprint of an explanatory dictionary of saints: 'In Russia the Lives of Saints were normally read for edification. Saints were the living examples to be imitated, their lives were models to be followed. The revival of such a tradition in our own time would doubtless facilitate the moral revival of society and would be useful in many respects' (*Slovar'* 1991).

The imperative to ignore saints gave way to the imperative to learn *about* saints, which in turn gave way to the imperative to learn *from* saints. And as hagiography broke out of the academic closet, so academics followed it into the market place. Nor is this restricted to the popular genres. Consider the semiotician Toporov, whose lengthy study of Feodosii (Toporov 1992-3) appeared in Russian in an English-language academic journal published in Holland. Toporov dwells on the rarity — in Russia — of what he sees as Feodosii's main qualities, 'industriousness' and 'spiritual sobriety'. Hence the study of Nestor's *Life of Feodosii* is 'instructive for those who seek ways of overcoming the temptations and sins of the Russian soul', and the saint's early steps along this path are 'the light that shines in the darkness' (Toporov 1992: 103-4). Toporov's analysis is a generic hybrid, in which the devices of disengaged investigation are framed in a sermon.

Here lies the continuity. The lessons may change, but the sense of the historian's moral role remains, has crossed into post-Soviet discourse. While western historians demonstrate their critical distance by reference to theory, Russian historians justify their involvement by reference to morality. This is a crude contrast, and not everybody (on either side) follows the trend; but it is the most striking recurrent pattern in recent studies of hagiography — and, more generally, in modern Russian attitudes to the pre-Soviet past.

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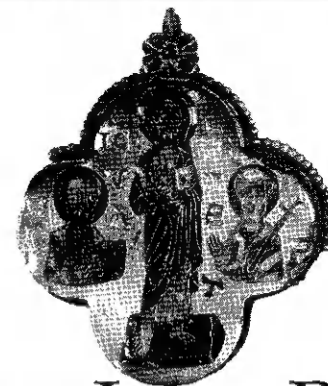
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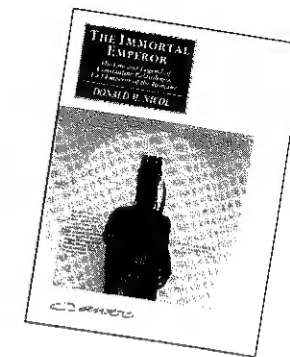
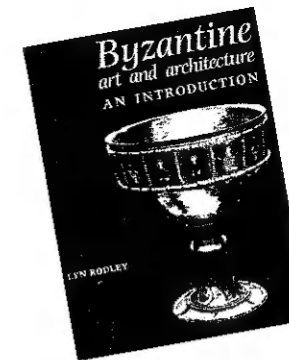
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